

**A Diachronic, Corpus-Based Study of the Complementation of
Remind in British English from 1710 to 1993**

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Tämä pro gradu – tutkielma käsittelee englannin kielen verbin *remind* komplementaatiota ja siinä tapahtuneita muutoksia brittienglannissa 1700-luvulta nykypäivään. Tutkielman korpusaineiston lähteinä toimivat kolmiosainen Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET), joka sisältää tekstejä vuosilta 1710–1780 (CLMETEV 1), 1780–1850 (CLMET 2), ja 1850–1920 (CLMET 3), sekä British National Corpus (BNC), joka kattaa vuodet 1960–1993. CLMET-korpuksen ensimmäisestä osasta käytetään laajennettua versiota, jotta käytettävissä olisi enemmän esimerkkejä. BNC-aineisto rajattiin käsittämään vain kaunokirjalliset tekstit, jotta se olisi tekstilajin osalta verrattavissa CLMET:iin.

Tutkielman ensimmäisessä osassa käsitellään korpuslingvistiikkaa yleisesti sekä komplementaatioon liittyviä teorioita, muun muassa komplementtivalintaan vaikuttavaa Complexity Principle-periaatetta, komplementaation muutostrendejä viime vuosisatojen aikana (Great Complement Shift), semanttisia rooleja ja joidenkin komplementtityyppien yleisiä merkityksiä. Sanakirjoja ja kielioppiteoksia lähteinä käyttäen selvitetään, mitä eri merkityksiä verbillä *remind* on ja mitä komplementteja se niiden mukaan valitsee. Tutkielman analyysiosassa korpusaineistoa verrataan taustamateriaalien pohjalta muodostettuihin hypoteeseihin. Tavoitteena on selvittää, mitä komplementteja aineistosta löytyy ja millaisia muutoksia ajanjakson aikana on tapahtunut, sekä pohtia syntaktisten ja semanttisten tekijöiden mahdollista yhteyttä tiettyjen komplementtityyppien esiintymiseen.

Aineisto osoittaa, että *remind* valitsee useita eri komplementteja, joista selvästi yleisin kaikilla tutkituilla ajanjaksoilla on NP *of* NP. Tutkitun ajanjakson puolivälissä komplementtien määrä nousee kuudesta kahdeksaan. Verbin eri merkitysvaihteluiden ja komplementtien välillä ei näytä olevan yksiselitteisen suoraa yhteyttä. Verbillä *remind* näyttäisi olevan kaksi toisistaan erillistä päämerkitystä, joista toinen on dynaaminen eli toimintaa ilmaiseva ja toinen statiivinen eli pysyvää olotilaa ilmaiseva. Komplementtien yleisyydessä tapahtuneet muutokset eivät näytä seuraavan Great Complement Shift -trendiä, jossa esimerkiksi *-ing* -komplementtien on havaittu yleistyvän *to*-infinitiivien kustannuksella; verbin *remind* kanssa *-ing* -komplementit ovat kaiken kaikkiaan harvinaisia ja niiden määrä on laskussa. *-Ing* -komplementit myös käyttäytyvät Complexity Principlen vastaisesti kahdella ensimmäisellä ajanjaksolla. Muut lausekomplementit sen sijaan suurimmaksi osaksi noudattavat periaatetta.

Avainsanat: remind, komplementaatio, korpus, verbi

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1. Introduction

This thesis deals with the complementation patterns of the English verb *remind*. This particular verb was initially chosen as the focus of research because of its several meanings and various complements. Postal (1970: 37) even calls *remind* a “surface verb”, indicating that it is actually several verbs that just happen to have the same orthographic and phonological realization. The topic in general is of interest, since each verb has its unique set of complementation patterns. Also, a study of this kind can be seen to contribute a small part to a larger, ongoing study of changes in this part of English grammar, contributed to by several scholars over the last couple of decades, including Rohdenburg (e.g. 1996, 2003) and Rudanko (e.g. 1998, 2006).

This is a diachronic, corpus-based study which will trace the development of the complementation of this verb from early 18th century until the end of the 20th century. In the second chapter, I introduce the concept of corpora and the field of corpus linguistics, discussing its advantages and disadvantages. In Chapter 3, I define the term *complement*, and then introduce and discuss several factors that influence the choice of complement(s) in general, as well as some semantic characteristics of certain complement types. The fourth chapter focuses on the verb *remind* specifically, summarizing findings from selected dictionaries and grammars and providing a preliminary listing of the senses and complement types that the verb might have.

In Chapter 5, I first introduce and compare the two corpora that are used in this study, namely the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* and the *British National Corpus*. After that, I briefly describe the methodology used in this corpus-based study, before moving on to the actual analysis of the corpus data. I will present illustrative examples of each complement type and discuss them in the light of the theories and hypotheses that came up in Chapters 3 and 4. I intend to find the answers to the following research questions:

- i. What complements does *remind* take, and in what proportions?
- ii. Have there been any changes during the time period under investigation?

- iii. Are these complements linked to the different senses of the verb, and how?
- iv. Do the complements have meanings in themselves, independent of the meaning of the verb?
- v. How are the implications of the theoretical hypotheses and principles reflected in the findings?

After thoroughly analysing the tokens and discussing the answers to the research questions in

Chapter 5, I will conclude my thesis in Chapter 6 and consider the implications of these findings.

2. Corpus linguistics

In this chapter, I will discuss the field of corpus linguistics. I will start by defining some terminology, then move on to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a corpus linguistic approach, and finally explain the process of normalizing frequencies between different corpora.

2.1. Definitions

Corpus linguistics is a relatively new field of study, linked to the increased popularity of computers over the last few decades. It has been called “a pre-application methodology” (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 1). This means that unlike other linguistic methods, a corpus linguistic study in its purest form can start without a hypothesis (ibid.). In this approach, a scholar can first observe language data and then come up with a hypothesis based on the observations, which then can be formulated into a theoretical statement (ibid: 2). Therefore, corpus linguistics can be considered to be an inherently empirical field of study.

The procedure described above has been labelled the *corpus-driven* approach. There are other ways in which corpora can be employed for the study of language, namely *corpus-based* and *corpus-aided* approaches. In the case of the former, corpora are used “to investigate a problem which is formulated within a particular linguistic theory” (Lindquist 2009: 26), whereas the corpus-aided approach merely employs a corpus as a source of authentic examples of whatever linguistic phenomenon is being studied (ibid). In this thesis, the corpus-based method will be used in the framework of complementation studies.

A corpus, the source of data for corpus linguistics, is a collection of texts, usually in a computer-readable format. It contains authentic language from sources such as books, newspapers, speech recordings, or the internet. Often the collection of texts is “assumed to be representative of a given language put together so that it can be used for linguistic analysis” (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 2). However, not all corpora aim to be representative of an entire language; there are many more specialized corpora. Of the corpora used in this thesis, the BNC is a general corpus that was

constructed as a representative corpus of present-day British English, but only a restricted part of it (Imaginative Prose) is used here. The CLMET corpora are restricted by genre and medium. The corpora are discussed in more detail in chapter 5.1.

2.2. Advantages and disadvantages

Leech (1968) discusses three ways of obtaining linguistic data: corpora, elicitation, and introspection. Introspection, while supported by important scholars such as Chomsky, is an inherently subjective method, since people – even scholars - tend to have different and even conflicting intuitions about language, which would make it hard to reach any conclusions (ibid: 89). Elicitation, or data obtained from informants (speakers of the language other than the scholars themselves), has its flaws too: in such studies, the focus tends to be on the *acceptability* of a linguistic feature rather than on its grammaticality (ibid: 94).

It has been argued that many features in text and speech, such as hesitation or false starts, “intervene between the rules of grammar and their realisation in linguistic performance” (ibid: 89), and therefore one could not reliably study grammar based on corpus data. This is one of the arguments presented against the usefulness of corpus investigation. However, once one acknowledges the possibility of intervening features, it should not be a problem to use corpus data to confirm linguistic analyses (ibid: 93-4). Another critique towards corpus investigation is that no corpus can contain all possible sentences in a language – but neither can any one speaker, by means of introspection, think of all of them, and to elicit responses from all speakers of a language is equally impossible. Leech points out that “complete verifiability has long been acknowledged to be too high a goal in the testing of scientific theories” (ibid: 94). Therefore, one can say that while all three types of data have their advantages and disadvantages, corpus data is by no means inferior to the others. Furthermore, corpus linguistics can be said to be more objective than the other two, since

(as long as the corpora are available to everyone) the results presented by one scholar can easily be tested by other scholars as well.

2.3. Normalizing frequencies

When investigating and comparing data from several corpora, it is important to ensure that the counts (e.g. the number of tokens containing a certain linguistic feature) are actually comparable: instead of comparing the raw counts of tokens, one must take into account the size of each corpus (Biber et al 1998: 263). The usual way to do this is to count the tokens per million words (or a smaller basis if the corpus is small). The formula for this is to divide the raw frequency count by the number of words in the entire corpus, and then multiply it by the chosen basis for comparison (e.g. one million) (ibid).

It is important to choose a suitable basis in relation to the size of the corpora used, because if the basis is too high, “the counts for rare features can be artificially inflated” (ibid: 264). For the corpora used in this study, one million words is, however, a suitable basis since they contain a few million words each.

3. Theoretical discussion

In this chapter, I will discuss the study of complementation from a theoretical point of view. I will start by a definition of the term *complement*, with a discussion about how it differs from an adjunct. After that, several syntactic, semantic and stylistic factors that influence the choice of a particular complement type over another will be introduced.

3.1. Complements versus adjuncts

Since this thesis is concerned with verb complementation, it is appropriate to begin by defining the term *complement*. According to Huang (1997: 74), verbs can be classified based on what kinds of elements typically follow them. Of these elements, complements tend to be the elements that *must* follow, or are selected by, certain verbs – in contrast to adjuncts, which *may* also follow a verb but are optional (this matter of obligatoriness will be discussed later in this chapter). In other words, complements “help *complete* the meaning of a sentence as required by a verb” (ibid: 75, my emphasis) – hence the name complement. Typical classifications of verbs include intransitive verbs – verbs that select no complement –, as well as transitive and ditransitive verbs – verbs that select one or two complements, and so on.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) note that “there is some uncertainty and disagreement among grammarians as to how much should be subsumed under the function complement” (2002: 219). In an attempt to solve the issue, they present eight factors by which it is possible to distinguish between complements and adjuncts. There are both syntactic and semantic factors involved; these will be discussed in the following subchapters.

3.1.1. Syntactic factors

As already stated, certain verbs select certain types of complements, or in other words, complements “require the presence of an appropriate verb that licenses them” (Huddleston &

Pullum 2002: 219) – this factor is called *licensing*, or *subcategorization* by other authors such as Huang (1997). This is illustrated with the help of the following sentences (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 219):

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | a. She <i>mentioned</i> the letter. | b. *She <i>alluded</i> the letter. |
| 2. | a. She <i>thought</i> him unreliable. | b. *She <i>said</i> him unreliable. |

The sentences in the right hand side are ungrammatical for the reason that the verb *allude* does not licence this kind of complement (an object) whereas the verb *mention* does, and the verb *say* does not licence the same complement as the verb *think*. This suggests that ‘the letter’ and ‘him unreliable’ are complements of certain verbs but not of others – but they are complements nevertheless, not adjuncts.

Another syntactic factor is called *obligatoriness* – this is what I referred to in the beginning of this chapter. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 221; my emphasis) point out that “complements [...] are *sometimes* obligatory, whereas adjuncts are always optional”. An element is considered obligatory in a sentence or a construction if removing it would lead to ungrammaticality or a change of meaning. Compared to licensing, this is a stronger factor in distinguishing between complements and adjuncts, since the licensing criterion only concerns the question of whether a verb *can* be followed by a certain kind of complement, whereas obligatoriness is a matter of a verb requiring a complement (ibid). To illustrate this factor, Huddleston and Pullum provide the following examples (ibid):

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--|
| 3. | a. She perused the report. | b. *She perused. [obligatory complement] |
| 4. | a. She read the report. | b. She read. [optional complement] |
| 5. | a. She left because she was ill. | b. She left. [optional adjunct] |

Example 3 above shows that the removal of an obligatory complement (*the report*) results in an ungrammatical sentence (**she perused*). However, the same complement can be removed in

example 4 without loss of grammaticality, which means that it is an obligatory complement with the verb *peruse* but not with the semantically similar verb *read*. This might create confusion about the nature of complements, since adjuncts too can be removed without affecting the grammaticality of the resulting construction (example 5). Nevertheless, as Huddleston and Pullum put it, “[i]f an element is obligatory, and hence a complement, with some verbs, then *in the absence of counter-evidence* we will take it to be a complement rather than an adjunct when it is optional too” (ibid, my emphasis).

A third way to distinguish between complements and adjuncts is called *anaphora*. By the term anaphora Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 222) refer to expressions which in themselves have no semantic content but which require the presence of an antecedent in order to be understood. One of these expressions is ‘do so’, which works as a diagnostic test. Let us consider the following examples (ibid: 223):

6. a. *Jill keeps her car in the garage but Pam does so in the road.
- b. Jill washes her car in the garage but Pam does so in the road.

The sentence 6a is ungrammatical, because “[t]he antecedent for *do so* must embrace all internal complements of the verb; it therefore cannot itself combine with such a complement” (ibid). In other words, in sentence 6a the obligatory complement of *keep* is not only the object *her car* but also the prepositional phrase *in the garage*, and ‘do so’ is expected to stand for both of them together. For this reason the latter part of the sentence cannot be accepted, since it reads out as ‘Pam keeps her car in the garage in the road’. On the other hand, sentence 6b is perfectly fine since, in this case, *in the garage* is not a complement of the verb *wash* but an adjunct. This shows that some elements can work as either adjuncts or complements in different contexts (ibid).

Even though some elements, at least locative prepositional phrases, can function as both adjuncts and complements as we have seen, Huddleston and Pullum state that “[i]n the simplest cases, complements have the form of NPs, adjuncts that of adverbs (Adv) or adverb phrases

(AdvP)” (ibid). They label this as the *category* factor, and go on to review major categories in respect to their prototypical status as either complements or adjuncts. The categories that usually or prototypically are complements are NPs and finite subordinate clauses (so-called content clauses). Adjuncts are often in the form of adverb phrases and adverbs, as was already mentioned. Prepositional phrases, non-finite clauses and adjective phrases can function as both complements and adjuncts.

Yet another difference between complements and adjuncts is their *position* within a clause, since adjuncts can be in almost any position but complements typically have a prototypical position which they occupy (2002: 225).

3.1.2 Semantic factors

Argumenthood is a property of complements but not of adjuncts. According to Huddleston and Pullum,

the propositional meaning of a clause [...] can be described in terms of a **semantic predicate** together with one or more **arguments**. The semantic predicate represents some property, relation, process, action, etc., and the arguments represent the entities involved – the bearer of the property, the terms in the relation, etc. Prototypically, the semantic predicate corresponds to the syntactic predicator, and the arguments correspond to complements. (2002: 226)

Whereas complements corresponds to arguments and therefore refer to the parties involved in an action, adjuncts describe circumstances of the action, such as time or location. There are, however, counterexamples to this – that is, certain complements do not correspond to arguments. One of these situations involves the use of the so-called dummy pronoun *it*, as in the following example (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 226):

7. It upset me that she didn't write.

In this case, the object *me* and the clause *that she didn't write* are arguments of the predicate, but *it* is not: “it makes no independent contribution to the meaning of the clause, which is the same as that of *That she didn't write upset me*” (ibid).

Predicates also tend to require certain semantic qualities of their arguments; this factor is called *selection*. An example given by Huddleston and Pullum is about the verbs *enjoy* and *frighten*, illustrated by the following sentences (2002: 227):

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 8. | a. <u>Kim</u> enjoyed the concert. | b. * <u>The cheese</u> enjoyed the cool breeze. |
| 9. | a. They frightened <u>the cat</u> . | b. *They frightened <u>the ironing-board</u> . |

The first argument (*Kim*, **the cheese*) of *enjoy* is “normally required to represent animate beings” (ibid), and the same holds true for the second argument (*the cat*, **the ironing-board*) of the predicate *frighten*. These selection restrictions, by extension, apply to complements too, based on the connection between arguments and complements that was discussed in the previous paragraph. This also means that the restrictions do not concern adjuncts, as they are not arguments of the predicate in a clause.

Last but not least, Huddleston and Pullum point out that the arguments (complements) of a verb are assigned *semantic roles* such as agent (the one performing an action) or patient (the one undergoing an action) (2002: 227). These roles depend on the meaning of the verb, and there is variation, which goes against the traditional grammar’s view of defining the agent as the subject and the patient as the object of a predicate (ibid). In other words, the semantic role of a complement is determined by the verb, not by the complement itself, so the same type of complement can be assigned different roles in connection with different verbs. In contrast, adjuncts do not take semantic roles since they are interpreted based on their own content (ibid).

3.2. Semantic roles

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the concept of *semantic roles* is closely related to the choice of complements by a verb. In this chapter, I will discuss the matter further, and introduce some common semantic roles. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 228) imply that semantic roles and syntactic constituents of a clause go together, but not constantly – that is, the traditional view of subject and object always taking the roles of performer (agent) and undergoer (patient), respectively, is wrong. Consider the following examples (ibid):

10. Kim shot the intruder.
11. Kim heard an explosion.

In example 10, the subject *Kim* does take the role of agent and the object *the intruder* the role of patient, but this is not the case for the latter example (11), where the respective semantic roles of *Kim* and *an explosion* are experiencer and stimulus – it is the explosion which stimulates the hearing, not Kim performing any action towards the explosion. Therefore, it is clear that the subject *Kim* can take different semantic roles in different situations, even if it fills the same syntactic position each time, and so can other arguments.

In some cases, two arguments of a verb can be assigned the same role, as in *Kim married Pat* (both Kim and Pat are agents), or a single argument can have several roles, as in *Kim bought the car from Pat* (Kim has the role of both agent and goal, Pat both agent and source) (ibid: 230).

However, these are special cases, and normally each argument is assigned one role only, and each role is assigned to only one argument. Haegeman (1991) points out that “each thematic [semantic] role of a predicate must be assigned and [...] there must be no NPs that lack a thematic role” (1991: 45). This requirement can be summarized in the form of the ‘theta criterion’ (ibid: 46):

Each argument is assigned one and only one theta role.

Each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument.

Furthermore, it is not only NPs that can be assigned semantic roles. Haegeman (ibid) illustrates this with the help of the following sentences:

12. The police announced the news.

13. The police announced that the pig has been stolen.

In example 12, the role of agent is assigned to *the police* and the role of theme to *the news*, as required by the argument structure of the predicate. However, the NP *the news* in 12 and the clause *that the pig has been stolen* in 13 clearly fill the same position as an argument of the predicate, and are therefore assigned the same role of theme, which shows that clauses can be assigned semantic roles too.

As for the major semantic roles, Löbner (2002: 112) notes that “the inventory of thematic roles differs from theory to theory” but presents a summary of those roles that he considers uncontroversial (ibid: 113). The following table is a shortened version of Löbner’s, in that I have left out some of the examples.

Role	Description	Examples
agent	performs the action expressed by the verb	<u>Johnny</u> wrote a love letter <u>she</u> gave me the keys
theme/patient	undergoes the action/change/event expressed by the verb	Johnny wrote <u>a love letter</u> she gave me <u>the keys</u>
experiencer	experiences a perception, feeling or other state	<u>I</u> heard him the outburst surprised <u>her</u>
instrument	an instrument, or a cause, by which the event comes about	<u>this key</u> opens the door he opened the door <u>with a key</u>
locative	a location	the keys are <u>on the desk</u>
goal	goal of a movement	put the keys <u>on the desk</u>
path	path of movement	she rode <u>through the desert</u>

Table 1. Some common semantic roles.

As for the second role in the table above – theme/patient – it is sometimes considered as two separate roles. In that distinction, patient undergoes a change as a result of the action (or is affected by it), but theme does not. According to Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 232), the role of theme can be used in many ways, but “the most central case concerns movement and location in space [...]: the theme is the entity that moves or is located”. The notions of movement and location can be extended to a rather abstract or metaphorical level, as in examples 12 and 13 discussed previously: if something is announced, it does not literally move, since elements such as ‘the news’ or ‘that the pig has been stolen’ do not have physical qualities but are still assigned the role of theme.

One role that is not present in Löbner’s table is the role of causer, which “involves direct or immediate causation of an action or event” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 230). The role of agent is generally regarded to be a subtype of causer (*ibid*), but whereas an agent is an animate entity, a causer does not need to have this quality. Also, the role of experiencer is often paired with the role of stimulus, which refers to something that passively causes someone to experience or perceive something. In the example ‘I heard him’ in Table 1 above, the subject *I* is assigned the role of experiencer and *him* the role of stimulus. ‘Him’ makes no active contribution to the event, and so cannot be considered to be an agent or causer. These two roles are often connected to verbs of “emotional feeling or sensory perception”, and to some extent also verbs of cognition (*ibid*: 231-2).

The concept of semantic roles will be linked to the different complements of *remind* in the analysis of the corpus data, when needed – especially when attempting to point out semantic differences between them and between the different senses of the verb.

3.3. Semantics of complements

Bolinger (1968: 127) notes that “a difference in syntactic form always spells a difference in meaning”, since it would not be economical for a language to have two different forms to express

just one meaning. This statement reflects the basic idea of what I will discuss in this chapter: the semantics of complementation.

Smith (2009: 360) mentions that many previous studies on the field of complementation have focused on the grammatical or syntactic side of the matter, while neglecting the semantic factors that also influence the choice of complements. To account for this gap in the studies of complementation, Smith himself focuses on the semantic differences between *to*-infinitival and *-ing* clause complements, and briefly mentions also *that*-clause complements.

3.3.1. *To*-infinitival complements

Smith (2009) continues on the work conducted by Smith & Escobedo (2001) on the semantics of *to*-infinitive and *-ing* complements. He argues that the choice of one type of complement over the other is not random: instead, it is influenced by both the meaning of the verb that selects a complement and the meaning of the complement itself (ibid: 360). Basically, *to*-infinitival complements “evoke the notion of conceptual distance of some kind between the matrix and subordinate clauses” (ibid), whereas *-ing* complements reflect “varying kinds of semantic overlap” (ibid: 386).

Smith argues that the infinitive marker *to* retains certain semantic elements of the preposition *to* from which it has originally evolved. The preposition *to*, in its prototypical sense, is a directional preposition: it “designates a path followed by an entity as it moves from a source to a concrete goal” (ibid: 369). From this prototypical sense, various semantic extensions can be made, including the notions of purpose, intentionality, conceptual distance, change, futurity and potentiality (ibid: 369, 370). This is similar to Bolinger’s (1968: 124) notion that the infinitive tends to have the semantic aspect of hypotheticality or potentiality, that is, an infinitival complement refers to something that takes place in the future (that is, at a later time than the action denoted by

the matrix verb) – and since the future time is of course unrealized at the moment the action of the matrix verbs takes place, the action described by the *to*-infinitive is also hypothetical instead of real.

3.3.2. *–ing* complements

As for the *–ing* complement pattern, Smith (2009: 376) points out that “[m]any authors have noticed that *–ing* evokes a progressive sense in that the action described by the verb is viewed as on-going, in process, or viewed internally to the process”. The pattern also often involves “temporal overlap with the main-clause process (Langacker, quoted in Smith 2009: 376). This overlap may be e.g. actual temporal overlap, as in example 14 below, prior overlap as in 15, or imagined overlap as in 16 (all examples from Smith 2009: 377-378).

14. She appreciates/enjoys/doesn’t mind studying linguistics.

15. I miss studying linguistics with her.

16. Stan considered spending a year in Europe.

In (1), the processes described by the two verbs happen simultaneously. In (2), the process described by the *–ing* complement takes place prior to the action of the matrix verb. In (3), the action described by the *–ing* complement is hypothetical, not real, but it is present in the thought process described by the matrix verb.

Some – polysemous – matrix verbs allow either type of complement (ibid: 381). Such cases can illustrate the difference between the two complement types rather nicely. Typical examples of matrix verbs of this category are *remember* and *forget* (ibid: 383):

17. Jack remembered/forgot mailing the letter this afternoon.

18. Jack remembered/forgot to mail the letter this afternoon.

The *–ing* complement in example 17 clearly implies prior overlap – the mailing happened before the remembering or forgetting. As for the *to*-infinitive in example 18, “*remember* followed by a *to* complement implies that Jack recalled he was supposed to effect the entire process of mailing the letter, viewed holistically, subsequent to the act of remembering” (ibid).

It is important to note here that *remind* differs from all the verbs in the examples above in that it is an object control verb, so a *to*-infinitival complement with *remind* is always preceded by an object. Also, while *remind* does take *to*-infinitival complements, it is as yet unclear whether it also takes *-ing* complements. The dictionaries and grammar books investigated in chapter 4 give no indication of this, so the corpus analysis will be needed to get further prove. Nevertheless, even if *remind* only selects one of these complement types, the contrast between them is still valid – the choice of complement is semantically motivated.

3.3.3. *That* clause complements

Remind also selects finite *that*-clause complements. Smith (2009) only mentions them briefly, stating that the verbs that select these complements are typically verbs of cognition, verbs that refer to thinking – e.g. *know* and *believe* (2009: 362). Also, he illustrates the contrast between *to*-infinitive complements and *that*-clauses, stating that the difference between sentences such as *She ordered him to do it* and *She ordered that he do it* is that “the manipulative sense is stronger with a *to* complement than with a *that* clause complement” (2009: 365) and that “the semantic bond between the matrix and subordinate activities seems closer in the sentence with a *to* infinitival complement than in the sentence with a *that* complement, which exhibits more features typically associated with independent clauses” (ibid) – in other words, that *that*-clause complements are more sentential and less closely tied to the matrix verb. This contrast might well be worth keeping in mind when analysing these two complement patterns with *remind*.

3.4. Cognitive complexity and explicitness

Another factor that might influence the choice of the complementation patterns of a verb is the Complexity Principle, which refers to the notion that the complexity of a sentence influences the selection between two or more grammatically alternative forms (Rohdenburg 1996: 149, 150).

According to Rohdenburg, "in the case of more or less explicit grammatical options the more explicit one(s) will tend to be favored in cognitively more complex environments" (ibid: 151). These complex environments include the presence of *extractions*, *insertions* and several other discontinuous constructions, long object phrases, and passive constructions (ibid: 149). Extractions will be discussed in subchapter 3.4.1 and insertions in 3.4.2.

The complexity principle is related to the concept of sententiality. Ross (2004) argues against the traditional grammar view which claims that categories such as *verb*, *adjective*, and *noun*, are separate entities (2004: 351). Instead of that division, he argues for the existence of the so-called "Nouniness Squish", in which the different grammatical categories are placed on a continuum that can be formulated as follows: "that > for to > Q > Acc Ing > Poss Ing > Action Nominal > Derived Nominal > Noun" (ibid.). This can be seen as a hierarchy of complementation patterns from the most sentential to the least sentential (i.e. most nominal). Given that the Complexity Principle influences the choice between grammatical options in different (more or less complex) environments, and that the Nouniness Squish hierarchy goes from the most complex to the simplest element, the following hierarchy of common complement types arranged according to their degree of sententiality (and by extension, explicitness) can be provided:

That-clause > to-infinitive > wh-clause > -ing-clause

The rest of the elements in the Nouniness Squish can be excluded from this hierarchy on the basis of their being "too nominal" to be counted as sentential complements at all. Therefore, in the list above, *that*-clauses are in the top of the hierarchy because they are seen as most sentential and the *-ing*-clauses, respectively, as the least sentential, but still sentential enough to be regarded as sentential and not nominal complements. Non-sentential complements will be also included in the analysis separately.

3.4.1. Extractions

Extractions are one type of "discontinuous constructions" (Rohdenburg 1996: 149) that create cognitively complex environments. Vosberg (2003: 202) formulates an "extraction principle":

In the case of infinitival or gerundial complement options, the (perfect) infinitive will tend to be favoured in environments where the object of the dependent verb is extracted (e.g. by topicalization, relativization, comparativization, or interrogation) from its original position and crosses clause boundaries.

An example of extraction is the following pair of sentences, the first of which represents the so-called normal word order (subject - verb - object) and the second a sentence where an element had been extracted, i.e. moved from its original position (here by interrogation), and the word order has changed:

19. a. John bought a book.
- b. What did John buy []?

The object of the first sentence, *a book*, is extracted to the initial position of the second sentence and takes the form of the interrogative pronoun *what*. This does not change the complementation pattern of the verb *buy*, and therefore *what* must still be considered to be the object of the second sentence, because we understand there to be an empty space between the verb and the question mark, from where the object was extracted.

An example of a more complex extraction situation is the following (Vosberg 2003: 201):

- 20 ... it is *the worthy Spencer* whom I'm sure you remember to have often heard me mention [] in the relation of my private misfortunes...

In the sentence, the NP 'the worthy Spencer' has been extracted from its original position as a complement of the verb *mention* by means of relativization (the relative pronoun *whom* is used as a 'step' in the extraction process). Even though the time reference is to the past, the *to*-infinitive is used instead of an *-ing* complement because of the complexity of the sentence structure.

The extraction principle suggests that in the presence of extractions, the infinitival complement will tend to be favoured over the gerundial (*-ing*) complement.

3.4.2. Insertions

Another common complexity factor is the insertion of an element between a matrix verb and its complement(s) – more specifically, “between the matrix verb and the non-finite verb form of the subordinate clause; or between the matrix verb and the subject of the finite complement clause, regardless of whether before or after the complementizer” (Vosberg 2003: 210). The implications of this factor are that in the presence of insertions, the more explicit structures will be favoured over the less explicit ones. The most explicitly sentential structures are finite *that*-clause complements, followed by *to*-infinitives, and the *-ing* form is, as stated before, the most nominal and therefore the least explicit of these (ibid: 211). In fact, *-ing* forms are unlikely to occur at all in structures with insertions (ibid). Also, Vosberg suggests that when the complementizer *that* is present in *that*-clause complements, they are far more explicit than when the *that* has been omitted (ibid). In the corpus data that Vosberg investigates, every time there was an insertion in a *that*-clause complement, the explicit *that* was present (ibid: 212).

The length and complexity of an insertion matters as well. Vosberg (ibid: 210) states that short, even one-word insertions (e.g. the temporal adverb *ever*) can be taken to contribute to the complexity of a sentence, but longer insertions require more processing effort and therefore are stronger complexity factors; in other words, the shorter insertions do not necessarily require the presence of the most explicit complement structure. Rohdenburg (1996: 160-4) discusses the subordinator (complementizer) *that*, which signals a more explicit finite complement when it is present, and a less explicit one when it is omitted. It seems that if a verb takes as its object a personal pronoun, which is a one-word insertion, the complementizer *that* can be more easily omitted than if the object is a longer noun phrase (ibid). However, in general “object-selecting verbs are more likely to be associated with an extra *that* than those appearing without an object” (ibid: 163), so even a pronominal object can be seen as a complexity factor. Since *remind* is an object-

selecting verb, these things may well be of relevance, and attention will be paid to them during the corpus analysis.

3.5. The Great Complement Shift

Rohdenburg (2006) introduces the so-called Great Complement Shift, which refers to changes in the sentential complementation system of English over the last few centuries. One of these changes is a process in which gerunds (*-ing* clause complements, both prepositional and directly linked) gradually spread at the expense of *to*-infinitival complements (2006: 143). The process can be either slowed down or sped up by extra-semantic factors such as the Complexity Principle introduced in the previous chapter, which means that even if *-ing* clause complements are becoming increasingly common in general, *to*-infinitives will still be favoured in certain complex environments because they are more explicit (ibid: 143, 148).

Another relevant part of the Complement Shift deals with interrogative (*wh*-clause) complements. It suggests that explicit prepositional links between the matrix verb and the complement clause prefer finite interrogative clauses over infinitival ones. For example, let us consider sentences 21a and 21b (ibid):

21. a. They gave us directions (on) how things should be done.
- b. They gave us directions (on) how to do it.

Finite complement clauses, such as the one in 21a, should be more likely to occur after an explicit preposition, whereas the preposition should be more easily omitted with infinitival complements such as the one in 21b.

To sum up, based on the suggestions of the Great Complement Shift, one should expect to find in the corpus data that *-ing* complements are becoming more common over time, that *to*-infinitives should occur more frequently in structurally complex contexts, and that in the case of prepositional *wh*-clause complements, the preposition should be more often present when the complement clause is finite than when it is a *to*-infinitival clause.

3.6. *Horror Aequi*

The principle known as *horror aequi* is a restrictive factor in the selection of complementation patterns. Rohdenburg (2003) states that "the *horror aequi* principle involves the widespread (and presumably universal) tendency to avoid the use of formally (near-) identical and (near-) adjacent (non-coordinate) grammatical elements or structures" (2003: 236). According to Mair (2001: 125), in connection with the verb *help* and its infinitival complements, "[i]t has long been noted that the bare infinitive is more likely to be used when the verb *help* itself is in the infinitive, because in this way a sequence of two *to*-infinitives may be avoided". Rohdenburg (2002: 236) considers the *horror aequi* principle as one of the factors that may either delay or speed up the Great Complement Shift (see previous chapter), especially as regards the spread of *-ing* complements at the expense of *to*-infinitives: the *-ing* complement spreads most rapidly in cases where it occurs after a *to*-infinitive, and most slowly when it is preceded by another *-ing* form.

As an example of the influence of *horror aequi*, let us consider the following sentence (Rohdenburg 2003: 205):

22. She was at loss to know what to do/what could be done.

The grammatical alternatives here are the infinitive 'what to do' and the finite 'what could be done'. In this case, the latter is more acceptable, because the preceding infinitive form 'to know' disprefers the use of an adjacent infinitive.

In other words, the *horror aequi* principle is a tendency to avoid using two similar constructions, such as two *to*-infinitives or two *-ing* forms, near each other in a sentence. It is a stylistic factor, and its influence has been widely noted. If any counterexamples are found in the corpus data, some explanation will be needed. Furthermore, its implications should be taken into account when looking at the changes in the frequency of *to*-infinitival and *-ing* complements throughout the period that will be analysed in the second half of this thesis.

3.7. Raising and Control Verbs

Verbs that take *to*-infinitives as their complements can be divided into two categories, namely Raising and Control verbs. On the surface, constructions with these two structures are “strikingly similar” (Davies & Dubinsky 2004: 3). Consider the following examples (ibid):

- 23. a. Barnett seemed to understand the formula.
- b. Barnett tried to understand the formula.

These two sentences are identical except for the predicate; both have the same surface structure NP – V – to – VP. However, there is an important difference between the verbs *seem* and *try* – the former is a Raising verb, whereas the latter is a Control verb. Semantically, in example 23a, “the subject *Barnett* is linked only to the embedded verb *understand*”, whereas in 23b, “it is semantically linked to both the matrix verb *try* and the embedded verb” (ibid). This is why the subject of the latter sentence “is said to “control” the reference of the subject of the embedded clause” (ibid). This construction is called Subject Control, and the construction in example 23a is called Raising-to-Subject.

The difference can also be illustrated with the help of transitive matrix verbs, such as *believe* and *persuade* in the following examples:

- 24. a. Barnett believed the doctor to have examined Tilman.
- b. Barnett persuaded the doctor to examine Tilman.

Apart from the verb and the tense in the lower clause, the structures of these two sentences look identical as well. This time, “there are fundamental differences in the characteristics of the NP [*the doctor*] immediately following the matrix verbs” (ibid). In example 24a, *the doctor* (the object of the matrix verb) “is semantically linked only with the embedded verb *examine*”, whereas in example 24b, “*the doctor* is semantically linked to both the matrix verb *persuade* and the embedded verb” (ibid: 3, 4) – the parallel with the previous two examples (23a-b) is clear. However, since it is the object and not the subject that is linked with the verbs in 24a and b, these constructions are called Raising-to-Object and Object Control, respectively.

Davies and Dubinsky (2004) provide several diagnostic criteria for distinguishing Control and Raising verbs, two of which will be discussed next. Firstly, the thematic roles assigned by verbs in each category are different, in that “the control verb *try*, unlike the raising verb *seem*, assigns a thematic role to its subject” (ibid: 4, 5). In example 23a above, the subject *Barnett* gets the thematic role of experiencer as a subject of the embedded verb *understand*, not because of the matrix verb *seem*. In example 23b, however, “*Barnett* appears to have two roles in the sentence, one as experiencer of *understand* and one as agent of *try*” (ibid: 4). A similar difference holds true for the transitive raising and control verbs in examples 24a and b above: in the former, the sentence with the raising verb *believe*, “*the doctor* plays a single role, that of agent” (ibid: 5). In the latter, “*the doctor* plays two roles in the sentence: one as an agent of the embedded verb *examine* (i.e. the examiner) and the other as the object of persuasion (i.e. the persuadee) of the verb *persuade*” (ibid). It is further noted that the verb *persuade* “assigns three thematic roles: agent, persuadee, thing persuaded of (the clausal complement)” (ibid). I will soon proceed to prove that *remind*, too, is an Object Control verb like *persuade*.

Secondly, “for raising predicates [...] a sentence with a passive complement is synonymous with the same sentence with an active complement” (ibid), as illustrated by the following examples:

25. a. Barnett seemed to have read the book.
b. The book seemed to have been read by Barnett.

In the case of control verbs, however, the active and passive constructions are not synonymous (nor is the embedded passive always even possible):

26. a. The doctor tried to examine Tilman.
b. Tilman tried to be examined by the doctor.

The same is true for transitive predicates as well, and this criterion works as a test to determine whether *remind* is a Control or Raising predicate. Consider the following examples:

27. a. I reminded her to read the book.
b. * I reminded the book to be read by her.

The two sentences above are not identical in meaning, nor is the passive version even acceptable in this case (due to selectional restrictions of the arguments). Therefore, *remind* must be a Control verb, more specifically an Object Control verb. Furthermore, like the verb *persuade* mentioned earlier, *remind* too assigns three thematic roles: agent (*I*), ‘remindee’ or patient (the person reminded; *her*), ‘thing reminded of’ or theme (the clausal complement; *to read the book*). However, these particular roles are only assigned with this particular sense of the verb, that is, when *remind* is used as a speech act verb; slightly different roles are associated with other senses of *remind*. I will come back to the matter of the thematic roles of the different senses of *remind* in the corpus analysis part of the thesis.

4. *Remind* in dictionaries and grammars

In this chapter, I will discuss what has been said about the verb *remind* in selected dictionaries and grammar books. After that, I will present a summary of the possible complementation patterns and senses of the verb as suggested by the abovementioned sources.

4.1. The *Oxford English Dictionary*

A useful starting point for a study of the complementation of a certain verb is to look at the senses of the verb as suggested by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), as well as the examples in the dictionary linked to each sense; in these examples, one can see at least some of the typical complements of *remind* in an authentic context. The examples included are from the appropriate time period corresponding to the corpus data; those dating from before 1700 were left out.

The *OED* presents two main senses for the verb *remind*, as seen in Table 2 below. Both of them are marked as transitive, indicating that the verb takes an object; however, some of them are stated to have an intransitive usage as well. Sense 1b is marked obsolete and rare, and the only example connected to this sense is from the year 1669 which predates the earliest corpus data used in this study by several decades. It will therefore be left out of further investigation. Sense 1a is suggested to be regional in the present day, and its meaning seems to be identical to that of the related verb *remember*, so it is not relevant to this study either. Senses 1c and 2a-b and their respective complements as suggested by the *OED* examples, therefore, are the ones to keep in mind.

<i>OED</i> entries	<i>OED</i> example(s)	Complementation pattern(s)
1. trans. * a. To recall or bring back (something) to mind; to remember or recollect (something). Also <i>intr.</i> Now chiefly <i>Eng.</i> regional and <i>U.S. regional</i> .	*1.1. This the fierce Saracen wore, (for, when a boy, I was their captive, and remind their dress). (I. Watts, <i>Victory of Poles</i> , 1706)	*NP

<p>* †b. To recall or bring back to another person's mind. <i>Obs. rare.</i></p> <p>c. With direct speech as object: to say in order to recall to another person's mind.</p>	<p>*1.2. <i>Remind</i>, to call to mind. Always used with negative, as 'I don remind', i.e. I don't remember. (Dialect Notes 1904)</p> <p>*1.3. O do not wound me by reminding things Which rather Trouble than Repentance brings. (Earl of Orrery, <i>Black Prince</i>, 1669)</p> <p>1.4. 'If they throw you a curveball,' he reminded, 'ask for a break and come talk to me.' (EuroBusiness, Sept. 102/2, 1999)</p>	<p>*zero</p> <p>*NP</p> <p>direct speech</p>
<p>2. <i>trans.</i></p> <p>a. To put (a person) in mind <i>of</i>; to cause (a person) to remember or think (again) <i>of</i>. Also <i>intr.</i></p> <p>b. With infinitive or clause as object.</p>	<p>2.1. I have Sr Isaac's Leave to remind you of what You and I were talking of, An alphabetical Index, & a Preface in your own Name. (R. Bentley <i>Let.</i> 5 Mar, 1713)</p> <p>2.2. It will recall and remind and suggest and tantalise, and in the end drive you mad. (R. Kipling, <i>Light that Failed</i>, 1891)</p> <p>2.3. 'By-the-by, that reminds me,' he went on, 'I never saw such a change in two women in my life, as in you and Helen.' (E. P. Oppenheim, <i>Zeppelin's Passenger</i>, 1918)</p> <p>2.4. She radiated so much irritation that she reminded him of a small angry frilled lizard. (J. Rowe, <i>Warlords</i>, 1978)</p> <p>2.5. The time of year reminds me how the months have gone. (Dickens, <i>Let.</i> 18 Apr., 1867)</p> <p>2.6. They all have private baths with hot showers... Only the colorful Mexican bedspreads and rugs..will remind you that you're not in your own country. (Liberty, 25 May 74/2, 1946)</p>	<p>NP <i>of</i> + <i>wh</i>-clause</p> <p>zero</p> <p>NP</p> <p>NP <i>of</i> NP</p> <p>NP + <i>wh</i>-clause</p> <p>NP + <i>that</i>-clause</p>

	2.7. As the musicians neared the first mosque..the inspector reminded them to stop playing their instruments. (G.M. Thursby, <i>Hindu-Muslim Relations in British India</i> , 1975)	NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive
	2.8. Her assistant, Sylvie,.. reminded her about her three o'clock appointment with a rich collector she needed to woo. (E. Barr, <i>Plan B</i> , 2005)	NP <i>about</i> NP

Table 2. *Remind* in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

There are some issues with the *OED* senses and examples, for example the fact that the last example, in which the complementation pattern is NP *about* NP, is listed under the heading “With infinitive or clause as complement”, where it clearly does not belong, given that *about* is a preposition. Furthermore, some of the complements are found in examples linked to both senses, and the *OED* therefore does not provide information about the connection between the senses and the complements (if there is any). Nevertheless, this table provides useful information for the study as a starting point for the recognition of the various complements.

4.2. Other Dictionaries

Apart from the direct speech and zero complements, the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* mentions the same patterns as the *OED*. What makes it an especially important source of additional information is that it seems to claim that there are two different NP *of* NP patterns: one linked to sense 2 in Table 3 below, and the other linked to the phrasal verb in sense 5. Also, this dictionary separately mentions the idiomatic expressions in senses 3 and 4, but I intend to deal with such tokens in connection to their respective NP and NP + *that*-clause complements in the analysis. While they are marked as *spoken*, such expressions do come up in literary works which often contain dialogue.

1 to make someone remember something that they must do	NP NP <i>about</i> NP NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP + <i>that</i> -clause
2 to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past	NP <i>of</i> NP NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause
3 don't remind me <i>spoken</i> used in a joking way when someone has mentioned something that embarrasses or annoys you	NP
4 let me remind you/may I remind you (that) <i>spoken formal</i> used to emphasize a warning or criticism	NP + <i>that</i> -clause
5 remind sb of sb/sth <i>phr v</i> [not in progressive] to seem similar to someone or something else	NP <i>of</i> NP

Table 3. *Remind* in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*

The *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* only gives one sense for *remind*: 'to make someone think of something they have forgotten or might have forgotten'. In connection to this sense, the patterns NP *about* NP, NP + *to*-infinitive, and NP + (*that*)-clause are referred to. Like the *Longman Dictionary*, it also separately mentions the phrasal verb with the NP *of* NP complement, which indicates that this should be kept in mind during the analysis of such tokens.

NP *of* NP, NP *about* NP, and *that*-clause, *wh*-clause, and *to*-infinitival complement patterns are mentioned in the *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. The so-called 'resemblance' meaning linked to the NP *of* NP pattern is treated as a separate sense of the verb, but it is not specified to be a phrasal verb like in the two dictionaries above.

Table 4 below sums up the possible complementation patterns of *remind* found in the four dictionaries. The *OED* is the most inclusive, since it not only contains all the same patterns as the other dictionaries, but also two more: the zero and direct speech complements. However, what was not directly suggested by the *OED* is that the NP *of* NP pattern appears to be linked to two different meanings of the verb. This matter will be discussed in more detail in the analysis of tokens in this category.

Source	Patterns
The Oxford English Dictionary	NP zero direct speech NP <i>of</i> NP NP <i>about</i> NP NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive
Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary	NP <i>of</i> NP NP <i>about</i> NP NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP + <i>that</i> -clause
Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English	NP NP <i>about</i> NP NP <i>of</i> NP NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive
Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's Dictionary	NP <i>of</i> NP NP <i>about</i> NP NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive

Table 4. A summary of the complements of *remind* in the dictionaries.

4.3. Grammars

In addition to the four dictionaries, three grammar books were selected for this section, as they provide relevant information about *remind* and its complementation patterns. First, Carter & McCarthy (2006: 519-523) list the following five complementation patterns for *remind*: *that*-clause, *wh*-clause as direct object, *wh*-clause in the infinitive, prepositional phrase, and *to*-infinitive. For the first three patterns, it is noted that they all follow an *indirect* object and the pattern itself functions as the direct object of the verb. It is noted that with the *that*-clause complement “the indirect object is obligatory” (ibid: 519). As for the two patterns involving a *wh*-clause, it is mentioned that “[*remind*] may be used with an indirect object [...] and a *wh*-clause as direct object” and that it also “may be followed by an indirect object [...] and a *wh*-clause in the infinitive” (ibid: 520). An example is given of the former pattern but not of the latter. For examples, see Table 4 below.

The prepositional and *to*-infinitival complements differ from the first three patterns in that they do not take indirect objects. Of *to*-infinitival complements it is said that “[*remind*] may be used with a direct object followed by a *to*-infinitive clause” (ibid: 523). On the surface, however, there seems to be no difference between the direct and indirect objects of *remind*, both of which tend to be NPs, often personal pronouns, as can be seen in the examples in Table 4 at the end of this chapter.

Prepositional complements seem to be considered a special case by Carter & McCarthy, as they remark that “[some] verbs have special prepositions associated with them and are only used in the oblique construction, not with indirect and direct objects” (ibid: 521-2). The construction ‘*remind of*’ is mentioned in this context. However, it remains uncertain what this actually refers to, since examples in the dictionaries and other grammars do suggest that *remind* does take an object even when followed by the preposition *of*.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1212-1215) suggest four patterns (or objects as they call them) that are all preceded by an indirect object. These four patterns are *that*-clause, finite *wh*-clause, *wh*-infinitive clause, and *to*-infinitive clause. The indirect object is noted to be obligatory for *remind* with *that*-clause complements. The prepositions *of* and *about* are mentioned in connection with the finite *wh*-clause object, where there is an example sentence “‘Would you remind me (about) how we start the engine?’” (ibid: 1215) and it is noted that in this sentence, the preposition is optional, but in the case of *of*, it is obligatory, as in the sentence “She reminded me of what I had promised to do.” (ibid)

Finally, Biber et al. (1999) also mention *remind* in some patterns. They point out that *remind* belongs to one of “the two most important grammatical patterns available for *wh*-complement clauses in post-predicate position” (ibid: 685). More precisely, it is placed under what they call “Pattern 2: Verb + NP + *wh*-clause” and its variant which has “three place prepositional verbs, e.g. *remind* + NP + *of wh*-clause” (ibid). They also include *remind* in a list of “Cognition verbs” in the patterns “be reminded *of* / remind NP *of*” (ibid: 686). In addition, *remind* is suggested to be a

"Speech act verb" "controlling infinitive clauses in post-predicate position" in the patterns "verb + NP + *to*-clause" and "*be* verb-*ed* + *to*-clause"(ibid: 700).

Table 5 below sums up the patterns found in the grammar books. It seems that, unlike the dictionaries, the grammars focus almost exclusively on the sentential complements of *remind*.

Source	Example(s)	Pattern(s)
Carter & McCarthy	Remind her that the committee meeting is on Monday. Just to remind you what we covered last time, ...	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + <i>wh</i> -clause NP <i>of</i> NP NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive
Quirk et al.	Would you remind me (about) how we start the engine? She reminded me of what I had promised to do. Please remind me where to meet you after lunch.	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of/about</i>) + finite <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>wh</i> -infinitive clause NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive clause
Biber et al.		NP + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>of</i> + <i>wh</i> -clause NP <i>of</i> NP NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive

Table 5. A summary of the complements of *remind* in the grammars.

4.4. Senses and patterns

By combining the patterns suggested by the dictionaries and grammars, the following list of (possible) complementation patterns of *remind* can be provided:

- a) Intransitive *remind* (zero complement)
- b) *Remind* NP
- c) *Remind* NP *of* NP
- d) *Remind* NP *about* NP
- e) *Remind* + direct speech
- f) *Remind* NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause
- g) *Remind* NP + (*about*) + *wh*-clause
- h) *Remind* NP + *to*-infinitive
- i) *Remind* NP + *that*-clause

The distribution between sentential and non-sentential complement types seems to be fairly even, the first five on the list being non-sentential and the other four sentential. There is, however, a possibility that not all of these patterns will be present in the data, or that other patterns might show up, so the list is not definitive. Also, we need to keep in mind that some of the dictionaries suggested that there might be two seemingly identical but semantically rather different NP *of* NP complement patterns.

As for the different senses of *remind* as suggested by the dictionaries, there are overlaps and differences between them. For clarity, I provide here a simplified listing of the major senses of *remind* which will be used in the analysis part of the thesis. They can be narrowed down to five main senses:

Sense 1. To say in order to recall to another person's mind (OED sense 1c)
Sense 2. To cause a person to remember or think (again) of something (OED sense 2a)
Sense 3. To make someone remember something that they must do (Longman sense 1, partial overlap with OED sense 2a)
Sense 4. To make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past (Longman sense 2, partial overlap with OED sense 2a)
Sense 5. To seem similar to someone or something else (Longman sense 5)

Table 6. Simplified senses of *remind*.

Even though there is overlap between senses 2, 3, and 4 (and sense 1 as well, but the use of speech sets it apart clearly enough), the distinction is justified, since not all instances of sense 2 ‘to cause a person to remember or think again or something’ fall under either sense 3 or sense 4. This is mostly due to time references, since sense 3 has a future reference and sense 4 a past reference (by definition). However, it is possible that the time reference in some cases is not to the past nor to the future, but to the present, or a ‘non-temporal’ reference – merely denoting a fact or a permanent state of affairs. For this reason, the inclusion of sense 2 as a separate sense is necessary.

5. Analysis

In this chapter I will present the analysis of the corpus data. I will begin with an introduction of the two corpora that were chosen as the sources of data. After that, I will describe the methodology of the analysis, and then I will move to the actual analysis of the data. I will conclude this chapter with a discussion of the results from all the four data sets.

5.1. Corpora and methodology

5.1.1. CLMET(EV)

The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET) was compiled in order to fill in a gap in available corpus material from the era. It contains texts from *Project Gutenberg* and *Oxford Text Archive* (De Smet 2005: 69, 70), as well as from the *Victorian Women Writers* project in the extended version. It is divided into three subcorpora, each containing texts from a period of 70 years: 1710-1780, 1780-1850, and 1850-1920.

The compilation process of the corpus was based on four principles: first, the texts in each subcorpus are written by authors born within a certain time-span: 1680-1750, 1750-1820, and 1820-1890 - there is a 30 year gap between each of these years and the corresponding starting and ending years of the subcorpora (ibid: 70, 71). The purpose of this restriction is “to increase the homogeneity within each sub-period – and accordingly, to decrease the homogeneity between the sub-periods” (ibid: 70). Furthermore, this ensures that texts from each author are included in only one of the sub-periods of the corpus (ibid).

Secondly, only British authors who have English as their native language are included (ibid: 71). This “should facilitate comparison of the data from the CLMET to data from [...] the large corpora of Present-Day English, which are mostly corpora of British English” (ibid). This principle is especially important as regards the present study, in which the other corpus used, the British

National Corpus, fits the above description perfectly as a large corpus of present-day British English.

Third, “any one author can only contribute a restricted amount of text to the corpus” (ibid), which is 200,000 words at most. This principle ensures that no single author’s texts have too strong an influence on the corpus data.

The fourth principle was to ensure that the texts come from various genres and that the authors represent various social backgrounds (ibid). Most of the texts on Project Gutenberg and the Oxford Text Archive are “typically literary, formal texts, mostly written by men who belonged to the better-off layers of 18th and 19th century English society” (ibid). The compilation principle of the corpus attempts to avoid the overrepresentation of those texts by “deliberately [favouring] non-literary texts over literary ones and texts from lower registers over texts from higher registers, whenever a choice could be made” (ibid). However, in spite of these efforts, the inevitable overrepresentation of a certain type of texts remains (ibid: 72), which is largely due to the historical fact that in the 18th and 19th centuries, it was mostly higher class males who had the possibility to write and publish texts, and that these texts were mostly literary.

As for the size of the corpus, the CLMET contains nearly 10 million words: 2,096,405 in the first sub-period, 3,739,657 for the second, and 3,982,264 for the third (ibid: 72-78). The first subcorpus, therefore, is rather considerably smaller than the other two, which is why for this present thesis I chose to use the extended version of the corpus (CLMETEV) instead, since CLMETEV 1 contains 3,037,607 words, which is much closer to the number of words in the other two subcorpora in the original CLMET.

While it is not a particularly large corpus, it is “large enough for the study of relatively infrequent syntactic patterns, or borderline phenomena between grammar and the lexicon” (ibid: 78) – therefore, it ought to be suitable for the study of complementation. It might be “biased both sociolinguistically and in terms of genre and register” (ibid), but since this present study is not

focused on any of these, this should not be a problem. Furthermore, “the CLMET has so far been mainly, and most successfully, used in studies involving qualitative change in the history of English” (ibid: 79), and indeed it has also been used to study complementation and the changes that have been happening there (ibid: 80).

The four principles, the size of the corpus, and its successful previous uses suggest that the CLMET (and its extended version, which is compiled on the same principles) is an appropriate choice of corpus for this thesis.

5.1.2. BNC

The British National Corpus is a very large corpus compared to the CLMET: the entire corpus contains almost 100 million words, of which approximately 90 percent come from written texts and 10 percent from transcribed speech (BNC Reference Guide 2007). It is divided into several subsections, of which Imaginative Prose was chosen for the source of data for this thesis, as it is comparable to the CLMET. This part of the BNC contains 16,496,420 words from 476 different texts (ibid). According to the Reference Guide, the BNC is defined as:

a sample corpus: composed of text samples generally no longer than 45,000 words.

a synchronic corpus: the corpus includes imaginative texts from 1960, informative texts from 1975.

a general corpus: not specifically restricted to any particular subject field, register or genre.

a monolingual British English corpus: it comprises text samples which are substantially the product of speakers of British English.

a mixed corpus: it contains examples of both spoken and written language.

Since I have restricted my search to the Imaginative Prose subsection, the ‘general corpus’ and ‘mixed corpus’ principles are not relevant. The sample size in the written part of the BNC is considerably smaller than that in the CLMET, maximally 45,000 words. This, however, does not necessarily mean that there is only one sample from one author or even from one text; but “[w]here possible, no more than one sample was taken from any one text” (ibid). In fact, the BNC selection principles do not seem to focus on authors at all, unlike those of the CLMET. In general, the texts

were chosen by three main selection criteria: "domain (subject field), time (within certain dates) and medium (book, periodical, etc.)" (ibid). In addition to that, bestseller lists and library lending statistics were consulted, since they show which publications "enjoy a wide reception" (ibid).

The texts in the Imaginative Prose subsection of the BNC are from the years 1960 – 1993. This fits in quite well with the CLMET subcorpora, which contain texts from periods of 70 years each, the last subcorpus ending in the year 1920, which is (roughly) 70 years before the last year of the BNC data. Of course, the years between 1920 and 1960 are not represented at all in the combined data from both corpora, but they are the best options available.

Lastly, the BNC – like the CLMET – is a monolingual British English corpus, and as was already stated in the discussion about the CLMET, this makes the comparison between these two corpora reasonable and reliable.

The BNC Reference Guide also points out that searches can be restricted in many ways, for example according to the age or gender of the authors of the texts, or the age or gender of the target audience. These, however, are sociolinguistic factors and therefore not relevant to this study, which is why the only restriction is – as already mentioned – that only the Imaginative Prose section of the written part of the corpus will be used as the source for the data that I will investigate.

5.1.3. Methodology

In the theoretical part, relevant literature on complementation was investigated and summarized in order to come up with a coherent picture of the concept of complementation and the factors influencing it. In a similar fashion, selected dictionaries and grammar books were looked into as concerns the verb *remind*, in order to find out what has been previously said about the behaviour of this particular verb.

The corpus data that will be discussed in this section was investigated manually token-by-token, divided into groups according to the complement(s) found in each token, and analysed in

light of the background materials discussed earlier. Cognitive complexity, *horror aequi*, time orientation, and other semantic, syntactic and stylistic factors that are known to influence the complementation of a verb will be discussed in some more detail and applied to the analysis of the complements when necessary. Both quantitative and qualitative methods of corpus investigation will be employed, in that both the relative frequencies of the different complements in each data set and between the data sets, and the meanings of individual complements and tokens will be discussed.

The four data sets from the corpora will be discussed in the chronological order: CLMETEV 1, CLMET 2, CLMET 3, and BNC Imaginative Prose. For each of them, a summary of the complementation patterns found will be presented in the form of a table, and then each type of complement will be discussed in more detail. Illustrative examples from the respective corpora will be presented in the discussion of each complement. After discussing all data sets separately, the results will be summed up and their implications considered.

5.2. CLMET(EV) 1

The Corpus of Late Modern Texts (Extended Version) part 1, or CLMETEV 1, covers the years 1710-1780 and contains a total of 3,037,607 words. To retrieve the data, each verb form – *remind*, *reminds*, *reminded*, and *reminding*, was searched for separately. The combined number of tokens from these four search strings is 75. Table 7 below presents the distribution of the different complement types among these 75 tokens, in raw numbers, percentage, and normalized frequency. Altogether six different complementation patterns were found in this data set. Non-sentential complements are far more common than sentential ones (65,3 percent against 34,7), and especially the NP *of* NP complement seems to be the dominant one in this data set, with 47 tokens (NF 15,4). The second most common pattern is the sentential NP + *that*-clause complement (14 | NF 4,6).

Complement type	Tokens	Frequency (%)	NF per million words
Sentential	26	34,7	8,6
NP + <i>that</i> -clause	14	18,6	4,6
NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause	8	10,7	2,6
NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive	2	2,7	0,7
NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause	2	2,7	0,7
Non-sentential	49	65,3	16,1
NP <i>of</i> NP	47	62,6	15,4
NP	2	2,7	0,7
Total	75	100	24,7

Table 7. Distribution of the complements of *remind* in CLMETEV 1.

I will now discuss each pattern separately, starting with the sentential complements and then the non-sentential ones. I will finish this chapter with some concluding remarks of the first subcorpus.

5.2.1 Sentential complements

NP + *that*-clause

That-clause complements are the most frequent sentential complements in the first set of data with 14 tokens (4,6 per million). In all of them, the complementizer *that* is present. It appears that the sense of *remind* in most of the fourteen tokens is that of a speech act verb ('to say in order to recall to another person's mind'), with the content of the *that*-clause representing indirect speech (example 28a); in others, it represents writing instead (28b). Naturally, then, in all of them the agent is a person and the patient is either a person or a group of people. One of the tokens contains an insertion between the NP and the clausal part of the complement (28c), which further motivates the explicit presence of the complementizer *that* as suggested by the complexity principle (see 3.4.). However, in this sample it is present in all tokens, so there is no contrast.

28. a. She then **reminded** *Amelia* *that it was now past five in the afternoon*, and that she had not taken any refreshment but a dish of tea the whole day, and desired she would give her leave to procure her a chick, or anything she liked better, for her dinner. (Henry Fielding, 1751, *Amelia*)

- b. In the same letter he admonishes his friend that he should not be too much surprised, if after having been (as he expressed it) upon the mount, he should be brought into this valley again, **reminding** *him that "we live by faith, and not by sensible assurance," ...* (Eliza Fowler Haywood, 1744, *The Fortunate Foundlings*)-
- c. But I must **remind** *you, at the same time, that it will be to a very little purpose for you to frequent good company, if you do not conform to, and learn their manners; if you are not attentive to please, and well bred, with the easiness of a man of fashion.* (Philip Dormer Stanhope Chesterfield, 1746-71, *Letters to His Son*)

The content of the *that*-clause is typically factual (example 28a) or presented as such (28b-c), as it can be argued to represent the reminder's opinion instead of an objective fact in the latter two cases. As for the semantic roles involved, all of these tokens seem to follow the pattern agent + patient + theme.

NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause

Eight tokens of the NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause pattern were found in the data. In three of them the preposition *of* was omitted, and in five tokens it was present. In chapter 4.3, some of the grammars that were discussed claimed that the preposition *of* is obligatory with *wh*-complements of *remind*, whereas others did not seem to regard it as such, and now the data proves that it is in fact not necessarily obligatory – at least not in this first period under investigation.

Another factor, discussed in chapter 3.5, that might influence the presence or absence of the preposition is the Great Complement Shift, which suggests that the preposition is more likely to be present when the *wh*-clause is finite. Of the eight tokens, seven are finite, and one is non-finite.

Three examples are presented below, 29a-b illustrating finite clauses and 29c the non-finite one:

- 29. a. Nor, sir, do I now answer him for any other purpose than to **remind** *him how little the clamours of rage and petulancy of invectives contribute to the purposes for which this assembly is called together;* (Samuel Johnson, 1740-1, *Parliamentary Debates I*)
- b. I could wish to lead you into such a course of study as may render your future progress answerable to your past improvement; and, whilst I applaud you for what has been done, **remind** *you of how much yet remains to attain perfection.* (Joshua Reynolds, 1769-76, *Seven Discourses on Art*)

- c. But as this was done through Ignorance, as the Story relates, I hope I need make no further Apology, or have occasion to give any other Reason for making this Treatise publick, but that it may improve the Ignorant, and **remind** *the Learned how and when to make the best of every thing* (Richard Bradley, 1732, *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director*)

In 29a, even though the complement clause is finite, there is no preposition, but in 29b it is present. Of all the seven finite *wh*-clauses, five do have the preposition and two do not, so the majority of them do seem to conform to the theory. As expected, the preposition is absent from 29c, in which there is a *to*-infinitive inside the complement clause.

In 29a and b, the sense of *remind* is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ and the semantic roles are agent + patient + theme. In 29c the sense is ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’ and the semantic roles are causer + patient + theme.

NP + *to*-infinitive

Only two tokens of the *to*-infinitive complement were found in the CLMETEV 1 data. Both of them contain insertions, and are presented here:

30. a. So very few people, especially young travelers, see what they see, or hear what they hear, that though I really believe it may be unnecessary with you, yet there can be no harm in **reminding** *you, from time to time, to see what you see, and to hear what you hear*; that is, to see and hear as you should do. (Philip Dormer Stanhope Chesterfield, 1746-71, *Letters to His Son*)
- b. This injunction discovered so forgiving a sweetness of disposition in the person who made it, that monsieur du Plessis could not refrain testifying his admiration by the most passionate exclamations; in which perhaps he had continued longer, had not the eyes of the fair object discovered a certain languishment, which **reminded** *him, he should be wanting in the respect he professed, to detain her any longer from that repose*, which, seemed necessary, after the extraordinary hurry of spirits she had sustained; (Eliza Fowler Haywood, 1744, *The Fortunate Foundlings*)

The Complexity Principle, discussed in chapter 3.4, suggests that when a complexity factor such as an insertion is present, a more explicit (more sentential) complement should be favoured over less

explicit ones. *To*-infinitives are high in the hierarchy of sententiality, though a *that*-clause complement would be even more explicit and sentential. However, other factors come to the picture here: as Smith (2009: 365) points out (see chapter 3.3.3.), “the manipulative sense is stronger with a *to* complement than with a *that* clause complement”, which seems to be the case for both 30a and 30b here, especially the former: the speaker apparently regards their message as something important and is trying to manipulate the addressee ‘to see what you see, and to hear what you hear’. In 30b, this manipulative sense is perhaps a little harder to see, since the sense of *remind* in that case does not involve an animate agent who could manipulate the patient, but ‘a certain languishment’ can be seen as having a manipulative effect in that it causes the patient to act. Both of the *to*-infinitive complements also have the semantic quality of futurity and hypotheticality.

The sense of *remind* in 30a is ‘to say in order to recall to another person's mind’ (writing is regarded, for all practical purposes, as speech in cases where it is clearly addressed to a certain person), with the overlapping sense of ‘to make someone remember something that they must do’ and in 30b only the sense of ‘to make someone remember something that they must do’. The semantic roles involved are, respectively, agent + patient + theme, and causer + patient + theme.

NP + *of* + *-ing* clause

Two tokens with an *-ing* clause complement occur in the first data set, which suggests that the distinction between them and the *to*-infinitive complements, as discussed in the theoretical part, is indeed relevant for this thesis and worth considering. Let us now look at the actual examples:

31. a. She took me severely to task that very evening, and **reminded** *me of going to service* in such earnest terms as almost amounted to literally turning me out of doors (Henry Fielding, 1751, *Amelia*)
- b. I **reminded** *him, not without blushing, of my having no money.* (Henry Fielding, 1749, *Tom Jones*)

What is most interesting in these two examples is that in neither of them is there an aspect of ‘prior overlap’ or past time orientation, which might have been expected. Furthermore, it seems that the *of* + *-ing* complement in example 31a actually has a future orientation – a semantic characteristic normally considered typical of the *to*-infinitive complement pattern. As for the complement in 31b, it is a borderline case between sentential and non-sentential, since the possessive pronoun *my* is used to modify the verbal phrase. Furthermore, it contains an insertion, which should promote the use of a *to*-infinitive instead. However, it fits better in the notion of temporal overlap discussed in chapter 3.3.2., since the state of ‘not having money’ is ongoing during the action of reminding.

The sense of *remind* in these two tokens is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’, with overlap to the senses of ‘to make someone remember something that they must do’ (31a) and ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’ (31b) – more specifically the latter part of the definition, involving thinking rather than remembering. The semantic roles involved in both cases are agent + patient + theme.

It should be noted that since both of these examples happen to be by the same author (though from different works), they might well reflect idiosyncratic usage. The investigation of the later data sets might reveal something more about this pattern.

5.2.2 Non-sentential complements

NP *of* NP

NP *of* NP is by far the most common complement pattern of *remind* in CLMETEV 1, occurring 47 times – more often than all the other complement types put together. As suggested by the dictionaries discussed in chapter 4, this pattern should occur with two different senses of *remind*: first, ‘to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past’ and second, ‘to seem similar to someone or something else’. This seems to be the case, since there are at least two tokens in the data that have the latter sense, illustrated by example 32:

- 32 ... she often told Louisa, when they were alone, that there was something in the air and manner of behaviour of this count, which had so perfect a resemblance with that of Henricus, that tho' it **reminded** *her of that once dear and perfidious man*, she could not help admiring and wishing a frequent sight of him. (Eliza Fowler Haywood, 1744, *The Fortunate Foundlings*)

However, the majority of tokens can be placed under the first sense. Even under this sense, though, there is variation, and in fact it seems that it should be further divided: in some tokens, it is clear that *remind* is being used as a speech act verb (example 33a) so the sense in such cases is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’, whereas in others the remembering is caused by other means (33b) and the broader sense of ‘to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past’ remains.

33. a. I could be silent then no longer. I **reminded** *her of the perfect reconciliation between us before my departure*, and the great fondness which she expressed for me; nor could I help saying, in very plain terms, that if she had ever changed her opinion of me, as I was not conscious of having deserved such a change by my own behaviour, I was well convinced to whose good offices I owed it. (Henry Fielding, 1751, *Amelia*)
- b. But the repentance of Caracalla only prompted him to remove from the world whatever could **remind** *him of his guilt*, or recall the memory of his murdered brother. (Edward Gibbon, 1776, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* vol. 1)

The differences in meaning are reflected in the semantic roles involved in each case: the ‘resemblance’ sense of *remind* (example 32) assigns the roles of stimulus and experiencer to its arguments, whereas the other senses assign the roles of agent + patient (33a) or causer + patient (33b) – the precise role of the first argument (the subject) depends on whether speech is involved, since speech requires a human agent. The third argument in all three cases is assigned the role of theme.

It should be noted, though, that the distinction between these three senses might not always be clear, so precise numbers or proportions of each type will not be provided.

NP

In CLMETEV 1, there are two tokens in which *remind* takes no other complement than an object NP:

34. a. And she cannot, for this reason, bear the thoughts of my being now married, and to her mother's waiting-maid too, as she **reminds** *my dear Pamela*, when I had declined her proposal with the daughter of a noble earl. (Samuel Richardson, 1740, *Pamela*)
- b. You will take care to open your teeth when you speak; to articulate every word distinctly; and to beg of Mr. Harte, Mr. Eliot, or whomsoever you speak to, **to remind** and stop *you*, if you ever fall into the rapid and unintelligible mutter. (Philip Dormer Stanhope Chesterfield, 1746-71, *Letters to His Son*)

In both cases, however, the context reveals the content of what has been ellipted. In 34a, it is the clause 'she cannot... bear the thoughts of my being now married' and in 34b, the articulation and proper speech that the NPs ('my dear Pamela', 'you', respectively) should be reminded about. Nevertheless, both of these cases have to be treated as having only an NP complement, since no other complement type is present in the actual verb phrase. As for the sense of *remind*, it is 'to say in order to recall to another person's mind' in 34a, and 'to make someone remember something that they must do' in 34b, even though the 'something' is not explicitly stated in the form of a complement. As for the semantic roles, they can still be assigned even though one of the arguments is not explicitly present; in 34a they are agent + patient + (theme), and in 34b causer + patient + (theme).

5.2.3. Summary of CLMETEV 1

The investigation of the data from CLMETEV 1 shows that for the most part, the data agrees with the theory. Due to the nature of *remind* as an object-selecting verb, the complementizer *that* was present in all of the NP + *that*-clause complements even though no other complexity factors were found. Indications of the Great Complement shift (see chapter 3.5) were seen as regards the NP +

(*of*) + *wh*-clause complement pattern, in that with the only infinitive *wh*-clause the preposition was omitted, whereas it was retained with most of the finite *wh*-clauses. The preposition, then, is actually not obligatory with *wh*-clause complements, though it was claimed as such in chapter 4.3.

Both of the two *to*-infinitive complements contained insertions, and they were forward-looking and hypothetical in nature, which was to be expected. However, one of the NP + *of* + *-ing* clause complements showed a violation to the hypotheses presented in chapter 3.3.2, in that it had future time orientation.

Of the non-sentential complements, the NP *of* NP complement category contained a small subset of tokens that differed from the others in that *remind* was used in the sense of ‘to seem similar to someone or something else’, as was predicted in chapter 4. As for the NP complements, it was clear that some other complement has been ellipited from them, and the content of this implicit or understood complement can be interpreted from the context.

The connections between the different senses of *remind* and the complement patterns are presented in Table 8 below.

Sense (semantic roles)	Complement pattern(s)
To say in order to recall to another person’s mind (agent + patient + theme)	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause NP <i>of</i> NP NP
To cause a person to remember or think (again) of something (causer + patient + theme)	NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause
To make someone remember something that they must do (causer + patient + theme)	NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause NP
To make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past (causer + patient + theme)	NP <i>of</i> NP
To seem similar to someone or something else (stimulus + experiencer + theme)	NP <i>of</i> NP

Table 8. Sense-complement connections in CLMETEV 1.

The most widely used sense of *remind* in CLMETEV 1 was ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’, as it was found with all six complement types.

5.3. CLMET 2

The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts part 2, or CLMET 2 for short, is a 3,739,657-word corpus, and the time period it covers is 1780-1850. Each form of *remind* was retrieved separately, and the combined number of occurrences of *remind*, *reminds*, *reminded*, and *reminding* is 178.

Table 9 below shows the distribution of different complement types among these tokens, in raw numbers, percentage, and normalized frequency.

Complement type	Tokens	Frequency (%)	NF per million words
Sentential	56	31,5	15,0
NP + <i>that</i> -clause	35	19,7	9,4
NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause	11	6,2	2,9
NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive	6	3,4	1,6
NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause	4	2,2	1,1
Non-sentential	122	68,5	32,6
NP <i>of</i> NP	116	65,1	31,0
NP	6	3,4	1,6
Total	178	100	47,6

Table 9. Distribution of the complements of *remind* in CLMET 2.

Of the 179 tokens in CLMET 2 (1780-1850), *remind* was nominal in one token (‘I went beyond mere reminding’) and it was therefore excluded from the analysis. The remaining 178 tokens contain six different complementation patterns, which are the same ones as in the previous subcorpus. However, the distribution between the sentential and non-sentential complements has shifted slightly more in favour of the non-sentential complements, which now account for over 68 percent of the total. The overall normalized frequency of *remind* in this sample is almost twice as high as in the previous data set (47,6 against 24,7).

The relative frequencies of the different complement types are in the same order as before, NP *of* NP being the most common by a wide margin (116 tokens | NF 31,0 per million), followed by NP + *that*-clause complements (35 | NF 9,4), NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause (11 | NF 2,9), NP (6 | NF 1,6), NP + *to*-infinitive (6 | NF 1,6), and NP + *of* + *-ing*-clause (4 | NF 1,1). However, in CLMETEV 1, the last three complement types all occurred in the same amount of tokens (2 | NF 0,7), and here we can see a small margin emerging between NP + *of* + *-ing* clause and the other two.

I will now go on to discuss each of the sentential complements first, and then the non-sentential ones. In the end of the chapter there will be a short summary of the findings.

5.3.1. Sentential complements

NP + *that*-clause

Of the 35 tokens containing an NP + *that*-clause complement of *remind* in this period, the complementizer *that* was present in 34 of them and omitted in only one token. Let us first discuss the token in which it was omitted:

35. "Is there more work?" said Ariel. "Let me **remind** you, master, you have promised me my liberty. I pray, remember, , I have done you worthy service, told you no lies, made no mistakes, served you without grudge or grumbling." (Charles Lamb, 1807, *Tales from Shakespeare*)

In light of the discussion of insertions in chapter 3.4.2, the omission of the complementizer *that* is perhaps unexpected here, since it is preceded by an insertion ('master') which should add to the complexity of the sentence and therefore require the explicit presence of *that*. It was also stated in 3.4.2 that object-selecting verbs in general tend to favour the presence, or retention, of the complementizer even when there is no other insertion present. However, even together with the pronominal object ('you'), the insertion in this example is still a rather short, one-word insertion, so perhaps that justifies the omission of *that* to some extent. Since it is the only case of omission in

this data set, it cannot be compared to other situations yet and it remains to be seen whether similar cases come up in the later data sets.

The 34 tokens in which the *that* is retained include four cases where there is an insertion (illustrated by 36a-b), but the clear majority of them occurs without any such complexity factor (36c-d). This conforms to the tendency of object-selecting verbs, such as *remind*, to retain the complementizer, even when the object is only a short pronominal NP (36c) as it is in most cases.

36. a. I will only **remind** you now, *that the French had persuaded themselves this was the most enlightened age of the world, and they the most enlightened people in it* (Robert Southey, 1829, *Sir Thomas More*)
- b. Besides, whatever appearance the house and garden may make, the children do not enjoy the comforts of either, for *they are continually **reminded**, by irksome restrictions, that they are not at home*, and the state-rooms, garden, etc. must be kept in order for the recreation of the parents (Mary Wollstonecraft, 1792, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*)
- c. Besides, I **reminded** him *that the child Hareton was his wife's nephew*, and, in the absence of nearer kin, he ought to act as its guardian; and he ought to and must inquire how the property was left, and look over the concerns of his brother-in-law. (Emily Brontë, 1847, *Wuthering Heights*)
- d. Order was restored by Raymond **reminding** *the audience that the Chamberlain's licence was necessary for all stage speeches*. (George Gordon Byron, 1810-1813, *Letters*)

In some of the tokens, *remind* is a speech act verb (e.g. 36d), whereas in others it falls under the broader sense of ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’, as in example 36b, in which the inanimate, abstract concept of ‘irksome restrictions’ is causing the children to remember the fact ‘that they are not at home’. The semantic roles involved in this sense are best described as causer + patient + theme. The speech act usage of *remind*, having the sense of ‘to say in order to recall to another person's mind’, assigns the roles of agent + patient + and theme, as was already noted in the discussion of CLMETEV 1. It can be said that the two senses are rather close to each other, apart from the nature of the subject of *remind*.

NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause

11 tokens with the NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause complement pattern were found in CLMET 2. The preposition *of* is present in 7 of them and omitted in 4, which further confirms the observation made in the discussion of the CLMETEV 1 data that the preposition is not obligatory. In one token there is an insertion (example 37):

37. There's something in the air, and there has been something during the last three days of calm, which **reminds me too well** *of what I have seen here before*; and I am sure that we shall have little better than a hurricane, as far as wind goes - and worse in one point, that it will last much longer than hurricanes generally do. (Frederick Marryat, 1841, *Masterman Ready*)

The presence of the preposition *of* after an insertion might suggest that it is a more explicit option and therefore required when there is a complexity factor. However, this is the only case of an insertion among these tokens, so there is not enough data to draw a conclusion from.

All of the eleven tokens are finite. The preposition is retained in seven of them and omitted in four, so again the majority of the tokens support the hypothesis, discussed in chapter 3.5, that the preposition is likely to be retained with finite clauses. Examples 38a and b below illustrate the tokens in which the preposition has been omitted or retained, respectively.

38. a. He **reminds me** *how often the same accidents have happened to other navigators who have attempted this sea*, and in spite of myself, he fills me with cheerful auguries. (Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, 1818, *Frankenstein*)
- b. His father told him of the wicked, rascally, shameful conduct of the bankrupt, **reminded him** *of what he had said about Amelia*, and that their connection was broken off for ever; and gave him that evening a good sum of money to pay for the new clothes and epaulets in which he looked so well. (William Makepeace Thackeray, 1847-8, *Vanity Fair*)

Apart from the presence or absence of the preposition, the only structural difference between the *wh*-clauses in 38a and 38b is the *wh*-word: *how* in the former and *what* in the latter. In this data set, all of the tokens without the preposition contain the word *how*, and each token with the preposition

has *what* instead, so perhaps this is a factor too. However, there was one token with the combination *of* + *how* in the CLMETEV 1 data, so the situation is far from clear.

As for the semantic roles involved, in example 37 there is no animate agent but instead it seems to follow the pattern causer ('something in the air') + patient ('me') + theme ('of what I have seen here before'). The precise sense of *remind* in that case, then, is 'to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something'. Examples 38a and 38b both belong to the speech act sense of *remind*, 'to say in order to recall to another person's mind', and the semantic roles are agent + patient + theme. Both the senses and the semantic roles involved with them are the same as were found with the NP + *that*-clause complements.

NP + *to*-infinitive

There were six tokens with the NP + *to*-infinitive complement in CLMET 2. No insertions or extractions were present. All of the *to*-infinitive constructions express future orientation. In 39a below, the notion of hypotheticality can be detected, whereas the complement in 39b reflects the manipulative sense which was noted to be connected to this complement in chapter 3.3.3 as well as in the discussion of *to*-infinitives in CLMETEV 1.

Semantically, the tokens are divided between two senses of *remind*: 'to make someone remember something that they must do' and 'to say in order to recall to another person's mind', illustrated by the sentences 39a and b, respectively.

39. a. My paper **reminds** *me to conclude*; and begging to be most gratefully and respectfully remembered to her, and to Sir John, and Lady Middleton, and the dear children, when you chance to see them, and love to Miss Marianne (Jane Austen, 1811, *Sense and Sensibility*)
- b. You **remind** *me not to be a sluggard*, Gashford, when the vineyard is menaced with destruction, and may be trodden down by Papist feet. (Charles Dickens, 1841, *Barnaby Rudge*)

Again, the semantic roles differ between the two senses, as speech requires an animate agent, whereas making someone remember something can be brought about by something else, such as approaching the end of a paper when writing. The semantic roles are causer + patient + theme in 39a, and agent + patient + theme in 39b.

NP + *of* + *-ing* clause

There are four tokens with the NP + *of* + *-ing* clause complement pattern in CLMET 2 (NF 1,1).

Among these four tokens, there are three slightly different variations of the pattern as regards the time reference:

40. a. "Perhaps it will be as well if you discourage his coming here so very often. At least, *you should not REMIND you [sic] mother of inviting him.*" (Jane Austen, 1813, *Pride and Prejudice*)
- b. My gown is by this time, I dare say, in the same condition with many thousand excellent books in the Bodleian, viz., diligently perused by certain studious moths and worms; or departed, however (which is all that I know of his fate), to that great reservoir of SOMEWHERE to which *all the tea-cups, tea-caddies, tea-pots, tea-kettles, &c.*, have departed (not to speak of still frailer vessels, such as glasses, decanters, bed-makers, &c.), *which* occasional resemblances in the present generation of tea-cups, &c., **remind me of having once possessed**, but of whose departure and final fate I, in common with most gowmsmen of either university, could give, I suspect, but an obscure and conjectural history. (Thomas de Quincey, 1822, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*)
- c. Our critic himself confesses of Michael Angelo, whom he regards as the pattern of the great or sublime style, that 'his people are a superior order of beings: there is nothing about them, nothing in the air of their actions or their attitudes, or the style or cast of their limbs or features, that **reminds us of their belonging to our own species**. (William Hazlitt, 1821-2, *Table Talk*)

Firstly, in 40a, it appears that the *-ing* clause is used where one might expect to find a *to*-infinitive instead, since the time reference is clearly to the future. In 40b, there is uncontroversial past orientation or 'prior overlap', but the sentence structure is highly complex and there is an extraction from within the complement clause: the NPs 'all the tea-cups, tea-caddies, tea-pots, tea-kettles, &c' have been moved from their original position which was after the verb *possess* inside the *-ing*

clause. The presence of an *-ing* complement here is as unexpected as it is in 40a, since it violates the extraction principle, discussed in 3.4.1, according to which *to*-infinitival complements should be favoured over *-ing* complements in situations like this. In 40c, the *-ing* clause denotes temporal overlap with the main clause and so refers to the present time and to a continuous state of affairs.

The sense of *remind* in 40a is ‘to make someone remember something that they must do’ – or, in this case, the negation of it. In both 40b and 40c, the sense is ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’. The semantic roles in all of these tokens are causer + patient + theme.

5.3.2. Non-sentential complements

NP *of* NP

Tokens with the NP *of* NP complement pattern form the majority of all the tokens in this data set (115 tokens). The same observation can be made as in the analysis of CLMETEV 1 data: there are three distinct senses of *remind* occurring with this pattern, namely ‘to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past’, ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’, and ‘to seem similar to someone or something else’. Again, the ‘resemblance’ sense is a minor one: only a few tokens can be undisputedly marked as belonging to this category. This sense is illustrated in example 41a.

41. a. She is very clever and gentle, and extremely pretty; as I mentioned before, her mein and her expression continually **remind** *me of my dear aunt*. (Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, 1818, *Frankenstein*)
- b. She would **remind** *the parish priest of the punishment allotted for female dishonour*, and by her influence had caused many an unhappy girl to do public penance in their own or the neighbouring churches. (Elizabeth Inchbald, 1796, *Nature and Art*)
- c. 'These are the earliest flowers at the Heights,' she exclaimed. "They **remind** *me of soft thaw winds, and warm sunshine, and nearly melted snow*. (Emily Brontë, 1847, *Wuthering Heights*)

The other two senses are illustrated by examples 41b and c, the former being an example of the ‘speech’ sense, and the latter of the more broad sense of ‘to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past’. The precise semantic roles are stimulus + experiencer + theme in 41a, agent + patient + theme in 41b, and causer + patient + theme in 41c.

NP

The six tokens where there is no other complement than an object NP are miscellaneous. In one case, in 42a below, there is some ground for arguing that there actually is another complement there – the *wh*-clause ‘how wrong it was’ – but as it is quite a long distance from the verb *remind*, and is also a complement of another verbal phrase (*impress upon her*), it does not really qualify as a complement in this case. Nevertheless, it corresponds to the meaning of the ‘understood complement’ – that which somebody is being reminded of.

42. a. I not only gently **reminded** *her*, but I tried to impress upon her how wrong it was, and how distressing to the ears of decent people (Anne Brontë, 1847, *Agnes Grey*)
- b. 'Where is my daughter Julia?' he asked.
 'At the bath.'
 'Ah! that **reminds** *me*!- time wanes!- and I must bathe also.' (Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 1834, *The Last Days of Pompeii*)

In 42b, on the other hand, *remind* is used in the phrase ‘that reminds me’, which can be considered a discourse marker. It is a short, fixed unit, as the exclamation mark after it indicates, so there is no other complement apart from the NP ‘me’. Furthermore, this is a special case since one is unlikely to find any other NP in this construction. Here, too, the content of the understood complement ([that] time wanes’) can be directly derived from the context.

The sense of *remind* in 42a is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ and in 42b ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’. The semantic roles are agent + patient + (theme) in 42a and causer + patient + (theme) in 42b.

5.3.3. Summary of CLMET 2

Somewhat surprisingly, in CLMET 2 the only instance of the complementizer *that* being omitted from an NP + *that*-clause complement occurred after an insertion, whereas the theory predicted the opposite, namely that an insertion should reduce the likelihood of omission. However, the insertion was a short one, which may have played a role here. A few insertions were also found in tokens which retained the complementizer, but the majority were without any complexity factor.

No infinitive *wh*-clauses were found among the NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause complements this time, but again the majority of the finite *wh*-clauses occurred without the preposition. As for the *to*-infinitive complements, no insertions or extractions were found in this data set. Semantically, all of them were future-oriented and either hypothetical, manipulative or both.

Again, it was the NP + *of* + *-ing* complements that did not quite agree with the theory. One of them has future orientation, whereas another contains an extraction, both of which are qualities typically associated with *to*-infinitives and not with *-ing* clauses.

The non-sentential complements behaved in much the same way as they did in CLMETEV 1. The NP *of*NP complements were divided into three subcategories according to the senses, and a small number of the tokens were categorized under the sense ‘to seem similar to someone or something else’. For the NP complements, it was usually possible to detect in the context an understood complement that has been subject to ellipsis.

Table 10 below shows the sense-complement connections in CLMET 2.

Sense (semantic roles)	Complement(s)
To say in order to recall to another person's mind (agent + patient + theme)	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP <i>of</i> NP NP
To cause a person to remember or think (again) of something (causer + patient + theme)	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause NP
To make someone remember something that they must do (causer + patient + theme)	NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause
To make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past (causer + patient + theme)	NP <i>of</i> NP
To seem similar to someone or something else (stimulus + experiencer + theme)	NP <i>of</i> NP

Table 10. Sense-complement connections in CLMET 2.

Again, the most widely used sense of *remind* is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’, found with five out of the six complement types. The senses overlapped to some extent – it was not always possible to assign a single sense to a single token.

5.4. CLMET 3

The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts part 3, or CLMET 3, contains 3,982,264 words, and spans the years 1850-1920. The data for the analysis was retrieved by searching for the forms *remind*, *reminds*, *reminded*, and *reminding* separately, which resulted in a total of 290 tokens. One of these turned out to be adjectival (‘a few reminding notes’), and had to be excluded from the analysis which focuses only on the verb *remind*. Table 11 below shows the distribution of complement types among the remaining 289 tokens, in raw numbers, percentage, and normalized frequency.

Complement type	Tokens	Frequency (%)	NF per million words
Sentential	99	34,3	24,9
NP + <i>that</i> -clause	80	27,7	20,1
NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause	11	3,8	2,8
NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive	6	2,1	1,5
NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause	2	0,7	0,5
Non-sentential	190	65,7	47,7
NP <i>of</i> NP	158	54,7	39,7
NP <i>about</i> NP	1	0,4	0,2
NP	27	9,3	6,8
direct speech	4	1,3	1,0
Total	289	100	72,6

Table 11. Distribution of the complement types of *remind* in CLMET 3.

In the third time period under investigation, the number of different complement types increases from the six of the previous two subcorpora to eight. The proportions of sentential and non-sentential complements appear to be relatively stable, as again roughly two thirds of the tokens are categorized as non-sentential and one third as sentential. The two new complement types that emerge here are the NP *about* NP and direct speech complements, both of which were suggested by the dictionaries discussed in chapter 4. Both are rare at this point (1 and 4 tokens, respectively), as might be expected from new, emerging patterns in the beginning.

As before, the most common complement types are NP *of* NP (158 tokens | NF 39,7) and NP + *that*-clause (80 | NF 20,1). The third most common one is the NP complement, which has seen a significant increase to 27 tokens (NF 6,8) from the 2 tokens (NF 0,7) and 6 tokens (NF 1,6) in the previous subcorpora.

In the established manner, I will now discuss each complement type separately, starting with sentential ones, and finish this chapter with a conclusion.

5.4.1 Sentential complements

NP + *that*-clause

The complementizer *that* is omitted in five of the 80 tokens. No insertions are present in any of these five cases, illustrated by 43a-b.

43. a. I **reminded** *her it hadn't rained for three weeks*, and that everything was as dry as a bone, but she said that made no difference to grass. (Jerome K. Jerome, 1909, *They and I*)
- b. I ventured to say that I thought William a nice simple name, and **reminded** *him he was christened after his Uncle William*, who was much respected in the City. (George & Weedon Grossmith, 1894, *The Diary of a Nobody*)

What is noteworthy in 43a is that while the complementizer *that* is omitted between the NP 'her' and the complement clause 'it hadn't rained for three weeks', it is present in the conjunctive clause that follows. Why this happens is hard to explain, since there is no clear external factor such as an insertion in the latter that might require the explicit complementizer to be present when it has been omitted in the immediately preceding clause.

In both 43a and 43b (disregarding the linked clause in the former) the omission of *that* is a matter of free choice in the part of the author, since no extra explicitness is required because of the lack of complexity factors. In general, however, *that*-clause complements of *remind* do tend to retain the complementizer, as was already discussed in connection with CLMETEV 1 and CLMET 2, simply because of the nature of *remind* as an object-selecting verb. This is why the omission is so rare.

Of the remaining 75 tokens in which *that* is retained, 11 contain insertions. The two categories are illustrated by 44a-b, the former having an insertion and the latter not having one.

44. a. If you are determined to **remind** *me again and again that your strength puts me at your mercy--*' (George Gissing, 1893, *The Odd Woman*)
- b. James, an you love me, see Humfrey alone, and **remind** *him that all the welfare of Harry's child may hang on his forbearance--on union with the Bishop*. (Charlotte Mary Yonge, 1870, *The Caged Lion*)

The retention of *that* in 44a is due to the insertion, and 44b again illustrates that often even the postverbal object NP is enough of a complexity factor to facilitate the retention. It can be said, then, that when there is no insertion or other complexity factor present, the retention or omission of *that* seems to be a matter of free variation, unless evidence to the contrary comes up.

The sense of *remind* in these 80 tokens is either ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ (43a-b and 44a-b above) or ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’ (45a-b):

45. a. The same vibrations which **remind** *the chicken that it wants iron for its blood actually* turn the pre-existing matter in the egg into the required material. (Samuel Butler, 1912, *Notebooks*)
- b. We are left sad and sorrowful in the dark, until the stars light up and **remind** *us that there is always something beyond*. (Winston Churchill, 1899, *The River War*)

45a, though, is a rare case in that the object NP of *remind* does not refer to a person but to an animal, and even the use of the verb *remind* must be taken somewhat metaphorically here, since it is a biological process that is being discussed, and not a cognitive one. 45b is a typical example of a situation in which nothing is being said, and the remembering is caused by some other way: there is no human agent to say anything anyway.

The semantic roles associated with the ‘speech act’ sense of *remind* are, as before, agent + patient + theme in 43a-b and 44a-b, and with the second sense they are causer + patient + theme, as illustrated by 45a-b.

NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause

It was observed before, on the basis of the CLMETEV 1 and CLMET 2 data, that the preposition *of* with a *wh*-clause complement of *remind* is not obligatory, especially not in such instances where the *wh*-word is *how*. On the other hand, in the earlier data it was always present when the *wh*-word was *what*. The investigation of this data set reveals a similar pattern but brings new nuances into the

discussion. There are altogether 11 tokens with an NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause complement, and ten of them do not have the preposition. The only token in which the preposition is present is indeed an *of* + *what*-clause complement (46a). On the other hand, there is also a *what*-clause without the preposition (46b), a *who*-clause without the preposition (46c), and eight tokens with *how* as the *wh*-word which also all occur without *of* (e.g. 46d).

46. a. Being **reminded**, by all this, *of what Mr. Franklin had said about our being a scattered and disunited household*, my mind was led naturally to Mr. Franklin himself. (William Wilkie Collins, 1868, *The Moonstone*)
- b. "What about?" asked she, with an inflection subtly to **remind** Mr. Povey *what day it was*. (Arnold Bennett, 1908, *The Old Wives' Tale*)
- c. Then I had better speak to him and **remind** *him who I am*. (Edward Morgan Forster, 1908, *A Room with a View*)
- d. It **reminded** *her how little work she had done to-day*; she must, she must force herself to think of the task in hand. (George Gissing, 1891, *New Grub Street*)

The contrast between 46a and 46b suggests that the insertion in the former might be the cause for the retention of the preposition *of*.

In this data set, as in CLMET 2, all of the *wh*-clause complements are finite. However, the absence of the preposition *of* in all but one of them is unexpected and speaks against the hypothesis of the Great Complement Shift (see chapter 3.5.).

As for the time reference in the complement clauses, it can be to the past (as in 46a and d), to the present time (46b), or to no specific time, merely denoting a state of affairs (46c). No future references were found in this data set.

The sense of *remind* is 'to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something' in 46a, b, and d, and the semantic roles are causer + patient + theme. In 46c, the sense is 'to say in order to recall to another person's mind' and the roles are agent + patient + theme.

NP + *to*-infinitive

Of the six tokens with an NP + *to*-infinitive complement, only one contains a complexity factor – it is a passive construction, in which the agent of the corresponding active construction is in the form of a long and complex NP (47a). The other five are structurally simpler (e.g. 47b). All of them denote a future time from the point of view of the matrix verb.

47. a. In starting this little Co-operative Commonwealth, *I am reminded by those who are always at a man's elbow to fill him with forebodings of ill, to look at the failures*, which I have just referred to, which make up the history of the attempt to realise ideal commonwealths in this practical workaday world. (William Booth, 1890, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*)
- b. She forgets altogether for what reason she tied that knot. Thinks it was to **remind** *her to send frosts in May, or Scotch mists in August*. (Jerome K. Jerome, 1909, *They and I*)

Though the time reference in 47b is to the future, it also indicates a repetitive action. It also seems to be a violation of the *horror aequi* principle, as there are two successive *to*-infinitives. The sense of *remind* in all of the tokens with a *to*-infinitive complement in this data set is ‘to make someone remember something that they must do’, and sometimes there is the overlapping sense of ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ as in 47a. The semantic roles are either agent + patient + theme as in 47a, or causer + patient + theme in 47b.

NP + *of* + *-ing* clause

Two NP + *of* + *-ing* clause complements were found in CLMET 3, presented below in 48a-b. Both of them can be said to have a time reference to the past, though in the case of the latter, one may argue that it refers to something that has not actually taken place, therefore denoting a kind of ‘imagined overlap’, one of the semantic notions of *-ing* clause complements mentioned in 3.3.2. One is unlikely to interpret the *-ing* construction ‘swimming in a salad’ in 48b as something that would have actually happened, so it is clearly a case of figurative use of language. The complement

in 48a, on the other hand, is a prototypical case of ‘past overlap’, the *-ing* clause denoting a realized event that took place prior to the reminding.

48. a. At first, anxious to show her lover that she trusted him, she seemed never tired of doing things for his young protege, as though she too had set her heart on his salvation; but, watching her eyes when they rested on the vagabond, Shelton was perpetually **reminded** of her saying on the first day of his visit to Holm Oaks, "I suppose he's really good--I mean all these things you told me about were only...." (John Galsworthy, 1904, *The Island Pharisees*)

b. It was ordinary water, nor was there very much of it, and, as Freddy said, it **reminded** one of swimming in a salad. (Edward Morgan Forster, 1908, *A Room with a View*)

As for the sense of *remind*, it is ‘to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past’ in both 48a and 48b. The semantic roles are causer + patient + theme.

5.4.2. Non-sentential complements

NP *of* NP

The 158 tokens of the NP *of* NP type in CLMET 3 fall into a similar pattern of three subtypes as did the tokens in CLMETEV 1 and CLMET 2. Tokens with the purely visual ‘resemblance’ sense of *remind*, i.e. ‘to seem similar to someone or something else’ (example 49a), are still in the minority, and the rest of the tokens have either of the two senses of ‘to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past’ (49b) or ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ (49c). There are cases in which the sense is not clear (49d), so no exact proportions of tokens with each sense will be provided.

49. a. "She is a handsome woman, and **reminds** me strongly of a face I saw in India."
"There are some classes of beauty and character that have a remarkable sameness of feature," began Rachel. (Charlotte Mary Yonge, 1865, *The Clever Woman of the Family*)

b. They not only disliked him, but they hated all that he more especially embodied, and throughout their lives disliked all that **reminded** them of him. (Samuel Butler, 1903, *The Way of All Flesh*)

- c. He deplored the fact that certain of the Jeahadia had surrendered, and **reminded** *his listeners with a grim satisfaction of the horrible tortures which it was the practice of the English and Egyptians to inflict upon their captives.* (Winston Churchill, 1899, *The River War*)
- d. 'I cannot mention the matter until I tell you the whole substance of it,' she said. 'And that I will do to-morrow. *I have been reminded of it to-day.* It is about something I once did, and don't think I ought to have done.' (Thomas Hardy, 1873, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*)

In 49a, the context further strengthens the decision to categorize the token as having the 'resemblance' sense of *remind*. The semantic roles associated with this sense are stimulus + experiencer + theme. In 49b, the roles are causer + patient + theme. In 49c, the first role (the subject) is assigned the role of agent since speech is involved, and the other two roles are patient + theme. As for 49d, the construction is in the passive and the agentive by-phrase has been left out, so an active version of the sentence could be formulated as '[something or someone] has reminded me of it to-day'. Because of this, one cannot know whether the subject should be assigned the role of causer or agent, and whether speech is involved or not, which makes it impossible to link this token to a specific sense of *remind*.

NP *about* NP

The new type of a prepositional complement of *remind* that emerges in this subcorpus uses the preposition *about* instead of the far more common *of*:

- 50. The message from my lady informed me, that the magistrate at Frizinghall had written to **remind** *her about the three Indians.* Early in the coming week, the rogues must needs be released, and left free to follow their own devices. (William Wilkie Collins, 1868, *The Moonstone*)

There is only one token of this type here (50 above), so one cannot say much about it based on so little evidence. It seems, though, that instead of referring to remembering something from the past, the broader context seems to indicate that this is a case of remembering to do something to 'the

three Indians' in the future. However, it also seems to indicate that the matter has been discussed before, which justifies the notion of causing the subject 'her' to remember something concerning 'the three Indians'. The sense of *remind* here, then, is either 'to say [write] in order to recall to another person's mind, 'to make someone remember something that they must do' or 'to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something'. The semantic roles are agent + patient + theme, which speaks for the first, 'speech' sense as the dominant one, but aspects of the other two can certainly be seen as well.

NP

Among the 27 tokens with an NP complement in this data set, two major categories can be pointed out: "That reminds me" and "As somebody reminds somebody". Both can be characterized as idiomatic expressions. The former is generally used to begin a sentence and works as a discourse marker to bring a new topic into the conversation (51a), and is typically separated from what follows by a (semi)colon or other punctuation mark. The latter (51b) is typically found as an insertion within another sentence and functions as a side remark. Another variant of this type of insertion occurs without the conjunction 'as' but has a similar function (51c). The content of the understood complement in both 51b and 51c corresponds to the content of the clause that surrounds these insertions, and they could both be rewritten as NP + *that*-clause complements without losing any aspect of their meaning. An alternative version of 51c, for example, would read 'I must remind you that this was my speculation at the time'.

51. a. His mind was pre-occupied, he informed me, concerning the defence of a lady much intrigued against, and resuming the subject: 'Yes, we have beaten them up to a point, Richie. *And that reminds me*: would you have me go down to Riversley and show the squire the transfer paper? At any rate you can now start for Sarkeld, and you do, do you not? To-day: to-morrow at latest.' (George Meredith, 1870, *The Adventures of Harry Richmond*)
- b. One who broke bread with the Saints every Sunday morning, who 'took a class' at Sunday school, who made, *as my Father loved to remind me*, a public weekly

confession of his willingness to bear the Cross of Christ, such an one could hardly, however bewildering and torturing the thought, continue to admire a lost soul. (William Edmund Gosse, 1907, *Father and Son*)

- c. This, *I must **remind** you*, was my speculation at the time. (Herbert George Wells, 1888, *The Time Machine*)

The sense of *remind* in 51a is ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’ and the semantic roles are causer + patient + (theme). In both 51b and 51c, the sense is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ and the roles are agent + patient + (theme).

A few other tokens of the NP complement category are presented in 52a-c.

52. a. "What reminded you of that, Laura?" "*SHE **reminded** me*. While I was looking at her, while she was very close to me, it came over my mind suddenly that we were like each other! (William Wilkie Collins, 1859-60, *The Woman in White*)
- b. "Please remind Signor Carella, Philip, that the baby is to be here by half-past eight this evening."
"Oh, certainly, Harriet. I shall make a point of **reminding** him." (Edward Morgan Forster, 1905, *Where Angels Fear to Tread*)
- c. He had forgotten it was Sunday, and would probably have gone on in his week-day mode of thought had not a turn in the breeze blown the skirt of his college gown within the range of his vision, and so **reminded** him. (Thomas Hardy, 1873, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*)

What all of these examples have in common is that it is easy to find the constituent that corresponds to the understood complement of *remind*. Furthermore, in both 52a and 52b there is another token of *remind* in the immediately preceding context, and the complement of that first *remind* is also the ellipsed complement of the second occurrence of the verb: *of* NP in 52a and *that*-clause in 52b. In 52c, *remind* only occurs once, but the semantically related (opposite, in this case) verb *forget* takes the complement ‘(that) it was Sunday’ which is clearly the understood complement of *remind* as well.

The sense of *remind* in 52a and 52b is ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’ and the semantic roles involved are causer + patient + (theme). In 52c, the sense is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ and the roles are agent + patient + (theme).

NP + direct speech

The four direct speech complements of *remind* in CLMET 3 are quite uniform in structure and content, illustrated by example 53 below. Each of them contains a quote representing speech, followed by a reporting clause with the verb *remind*. All NPs in these tokens are pronouns. As for the sense of *remind* in these tokens, it is, of course, ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’, with the semantic role pattern of agent + patient + theme.

53. *"You said it would be better like that," she **reminded** him.* (Arnold Bennett, 1908, *The Old Wives' Tale*)

Alternatively, these tokens could be considered as belonging under the NP complement category, if one was to take into account only the reporting clause and not the quotation representing direct speech. However, the *OED* (see chapter 4.1) mentioned the use of *remind* “with direct speech as object”, which justifies the division between these NP + direct speech complements and pure NP complements. On the other hand, the *OED* example associated with this usage of *remind* (see table 2 in 4.1) has no NP object, only the direct speech object, and so represents a slightly different complement type.

5.4.3. Summary of CLMET 3

Among NP + *that*-clause complements in CLMET 3, the complementizer *that* was omitted in five cases. None of those five contained insertions or other complexity factors, which is in accordance with the theory. The majority of tokens retained the complementizer, and some insertions were found in the latter group.

The situation of NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause complements in CLMET 3 is different from what it was earlier: only one of the eleven tokens retained the preposition, even though they were all finite. This observation is somewhat contrary to the hypothesis of the Great Complement Shift, according to which the preposition should be more common with finite *wh*-clauses than with infinitival ones –

although there were none of the latter in this set of data, so perhaps they would have even fewer (i.e. zero) prepositions.

All NP + *to*-infinitive complements have future orientation, and a complexity factor is present in one of them. One token contains a violation of the *horror aequi* principle in the form of two successive *to*-infinitive constructions. Unlike the earlier data, the NP + *of* + *-ing* clause complements in CLMET 3 do agree with the hypothesis: both of the two instances have clear past orientation.

NP *of* NP complements again divided into three subcategories according to the senses. The new prepositional complement, NP *about* NP, occurs only once in CLMET 3, so nothing conclusive can be said about it at this point.

NP complements have increased in frequency, and two major subcategories could be pointed out: ‘That reminds me’ and ‘As somebody reminds somebody’. Both are typically separated from their co-text by commas or other punctuation marks, and the meaning of their understood complements can be derived from the surrounding text, as it can for other tokens with NP complements.

The other new complement type, NP + direct speech, is rather uniform in structure, consisting of a quote and a reporting clause with *remind*.

The sense-complement relationship is presented in Table 12 below.

Sense (semantic roles)	Complement(s)
To say in order to recall to another person's mind (agent + patient + theme)	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP <i>of</i> NP NP <i>about</i> NP NP direct speech
To cause a person to remember or think (again) of something (causer + patient + theme)	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP <i>about</i> NP NP
To make someone remember something that they must do (causer + patient + theme)	NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP <i>about</i> NP
To make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past (causer + patient + theme)	NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause NP <i>of</i> NP
To seem similar to someone or something else (stimulus + experiencer + theme)	NP <i>of</i> NP

Table 12. Sense-complement connections in CLMET 3.

The first sense, ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ remains the most widespread one, this time associated with seven of the eight complement types.

5.5. BNC Imaginative Prose

The British National Corpus (BNC) subsection Imaginative Prose contains 16,496,420 words. The search string used in the BNCWeb corpus query tool was {remind}_V*, which searches for all the forms of the verb together. This resulted in 1938 hits, which was narrowed to 15 percent, or 290 tokens. No tokens were excluded after a manual investigation, as none of them were nominal or otherwise irrelevant.

In order to have a correct basis for calculating normalized frequencies, the total number of words in the subcorpus was also narrowed down to 15 percent, or 2,474,463 words. While this is not a perfect solution – the tokens of *remind* may not be distributed evenly in the corpus, so a random 15-percent section of the corpus might not contain exactly 290 of them – it is the best option available. Table 13 below shows the distribution of the different complement types among

the 290 tokens, in raw numbers, percentage, and normalized frequency. The complement types in BNC Imaginative Prose are the same eight as those in CLMET 3, so no new patterns emerge at this point, nor have any disappeared. As for the distribution of the complement types, almost 80 percent of them are non-sentential and slightly over 20 percent sentential, so the balance has changed in favour of the non-sentential ones.

Complement type	Tokens	Frequency (%)	NF per million words
Sentential	60	20,7	24,3
NP + <i>that</i> -clause	38	13,1	15,4
NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause	10	3,4	4,0
NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive	11	3,8	4,5
NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause	1	0,4	0,4
Non-sentential	230	79,3	92,9
NP <i>of</i> NP	134	46,2	54,1
NP <i>about</i> NP	7	2,4	2,8
NP	43	14,8	17,4
direct speech	46	15,9	18,6
Total	290	100	117,2

Table 13. Distribution of the complement types of *remind* in BNC Imaginative Prose.

The most common single complement type is again the NP *of* NP pattern with 134 tokens (NF 54,1). Unlike earlier, the NP + *that*-clause complement (38 | NF 15,4) is no longer the second most common pattern, as it only comes in the fourth place after the direct speech (46 | NF 18,6) and NP (43 | NF 17,4) complements. The most remarkable change seen here is the increase in the number of direct speech complements: the pattern only emerged in the previous period (CLMET 3) with 4 tokens (NF 1,0) and is now more than 18 times as common in the BNC when looking at the normalized frequencies. The NP *about* NP complement, which also emerged in CLMET 3 with only 1 token (NF 0,2), is still rather rare (7 tokens | NF 2,8) but has clearly increased in frequency as well and seems to have stabilized its position.

5.5.1 Sentential complements

NP + *that*-clause

Of the 38 tokens with an NP + *that*-clause complement in the BNC, the complementizer *that* has been omitted in seven cases (illustrated by example 54). As expected, none of those seven tokens contain insertions.

54. But Miss Kenton had departed, and sure enough, as I continued with my work, an occasional footstep or some other sound would serve to **remind** *me she was still there outside the door.* (AR3 678)

As for the remaining 31 tokens in which the *that* has been retained, there is only one token with an insertion:

55. Naturally, my master bowed and I had to follow suit, **reminding** *myself with a secret smile* *that Wolsey was only a commoner and no better than me.* (HH5 1009)

The presence of a complexity factor such as the insertion in 55 requires the explicit presence of the complementizer *that*, so there is nothing surprising here. However, as stated before several times, *remind* is an object-selecting verb and that in itself is a factor that motivates the presence of *that* in most cases, which this data set supports, since the tokens without *that* are the minority.

The sense of *remind* with these tokens is either ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ (56a-b) or ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’ (57a-b):

56. a. Jonna was not slow to **remind** *them that he and Maisie hoped to see them at their wedding, due in a few weeks’ time at Easter.* (C98 2664)
 b. That puling creature has the gall to **remind** *me that Stephen is a consecrated king and should not be treated as a felon.* (HH1 716)

In both cases it is rather clear that speech is used to bring about the remembering in another person.

The semantic roles associated with this sense are agent + patient + theme. In 56a, the *that*-clause (the theme) has a future reference, and in 56b it denotes a permanent state of affairs.

57. a. The blaze **reminded** *him that he was beginning to feel cold*. (ACV 84)
 b. Although it was morning and the quietest time of the day the air was already pungent with the smell of curry and spices, **reminding** *Massingham that it was some hours since breakfast and that there was no certainty when he would get his lunch*. (CJF 2142)

Both 57a and 57b have an inanimate entity ('the blaze', 'the air') causing a person to think about something, or rather bringing back to their minds something that they already knew but forgot about for a while. In other words, this inanimate entity takes the semantic role of causer, and the person (him, Massingham) takes the role of patient. The *that*-clause takes the role of theme.

NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause

Of the 10 tokens with an NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause complement, the preposition *of* is present in seven, so by this point it is clear that the preposition is indeed not obligatory in any of the time periods under investigation in this thesis. There are clauses with both combinations *of what* (58a) and *of how* (58b), but each of the three tokens without the preposition contains *how* as the *wh*-word (58c).

58. a. Once, a dog squealed and went on squealing in pain, and a flying plank, grazing her shoulder, **reminded** *her of what a high wind could do*. (HRC 113)
 b. She was simply **reminding** *Jaq of how she might continue to be useful*. (CM4 2726)
 c. The use of the collective pronoun in Charity's invitation to the Antelope Public House **reminded** *Charles how cliquey he'd always found it there*. (ACE 1113)

Again, all the *wh*-clauses are finite. Combined with the findings from the previous data sets from the CLMET(EV) corpora, it is still hard to find any consistent reason as to why the preposition is omitted in some cases and retained in others, but the general tendency is that *of* is almost always present with the *wh*-word *what*, and is often omitted with *how*.

The examples 58a-c above also illustrate the different time references found with this complement type. In 58a, the reference is a general one and not tied to any specific time, merely referring to a fact. In 58b, there is a future reference, and in 58c there is a past reference.

There are as many as three senses of *remind* associated with these tokens, namely ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’ as illustrated by 58a, ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ in 58b, and ‘to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past’ in 58c. The semantic role patterns, in the respective order, are causer + patient + theme, agent + patient + theme, and causer + patient + theme.

NP + *to*-infinitive

There are 11 tokens with an NP + *to*-infinitive complement in this data set, one of which contains an insertion (59a). *Remind* has the sense of ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ in ten of them, illustrated by 59a-b below. In 59b, though, the speech in question is a kind of internal monologue, and the person reminded is not another person but the subject himself. The overlapping sense of ‘to make someone remember something that they must do’ is present in all of the tokens, including the one in which no speech is involved (59c). The time reference, then, is always to the future, which is often made even more clear by the presence of adjuncts of time such as ‘one day’ (59a) and ‘later’ (59c).

59. a. By the way, **remind** me one day to explain this business of French pleats to you.
(HWM 2636)

b. He **reminded** himself to include food for the cat: several tins of meat and a couple of bottles of fresh milk. (K8R 2243)

c. Dropping her folded towel on the curved edge of the kitchen worktop **to remind** herself to hang it out on deck later, she set about preparing breakfast. (H7W 1546)

In 59c, there is a violation of the *horror aequi* principle, as two successive *to*-infinitives are used.

The semantic roles involved here are agent + patient + theme in the ten tokens with the ‘speech’ sense of *remind* (as illustrated by 59a and 59b), and causer + patient + theme in 59c.

NP + *of* + *-ing* clause

There is only one token with the NP + *of* + *-ing* clause complement in this data set:

60. These little whizzbangs were among her favourite weapons. They were more intelligent and versatile than most, and they **reminded** *her of playing with paper aeroplanes during lessons at school.* (F9X 1742)

It is a prototypical case, the *-ing* clause denoting an actual event that took place sometime before the reminding. The sense of *remind* is ‘to make someone remember something that happened in the past’ and the semantic roles are causer + patient + theme.

5.5.2. Non-sentential complements

NP *of* NP

In the sample from the BNC, there are 134 tokens with the NP *of* NP complement pattern. The same three subtypes are found as before, but this time it appears that tokens with the ‘resemblance’ sense of *remind* are not as rare as before – the proportion of tokens that fall into this category is roughly one third of the total, illustrated by 61a below. Other than that, it appears that nothing has changed as regards the senses and semantic roles involved. The ‘speech’ sense of *remind* is illustrated by 61b, and the more general sense of ‘to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past’ by 61c.

61. a. He was almost without shoulders, **reminding** *Shamlou of a tenpin skittle.* (CEC 1364)
 b. The Corporal instructor spoke quietly in his ear, **reminding** *him of a few basics*, and unobtrusively removed the lift bar at the same time. (B3J 2557)
 c. She enjoyed his obvious fascination with it and it **reminded** *her of another suggestion she wanted to make to him.* (CDN 595)

The semantic roles in are stimulus + experiencer + theme in 61a, agent + patient + theme in 61b, and causer + patient + theme in 61c.

NP *about* NP

There are seven tokens with an NP *about* NP complement in this data set. In four of them, the time reference of the complement points to the future, illustrated by 62a and 62:

62. a. Penry rang each night, to **remind** *her about the weekend*, he said, in case she'd forgotten. (JYC 3867)
- b. On Friday at school he passed Nutty in the corridor and gave her a fierce stare to **remind** *her about their appointment* and she said, 'I haven't forgotten,' in an aggrieved voice. (AT4 2105)

Even though these are non-sentential complements and therefore there is no verbal tense present in the complement clause to indicate a specific time reference, it is still clear to the reader that 'the weekend' in 62a and 'their appointment' in 62b refer to events that have not yet taken place at the moment of reminding. Furthermore, there is the additional semantic notion that both of the events are something important that should not be forgotten. The sense of *remind* in both 62a and 62b is 'to make someone remember something that they must do', i.e. come to the appointment, for example, and in 62a it has the additional sense of 'to say in order to recall to another person's mind'. The semantic roles can be said to be agent + patient + theme in both cases, even though the subject of *remind* in 62b is 'a fierce stare'; it can be taken as a substitute for the person giving the stare.

Two of the remaining tokens have a time reference to the past (illustrated by 63a), and one is not bound to any specific time (63b):

63. a. Pearce's words when the six policemen had vanished had **reminded** *him about Jimmy Devlin and his bizarre story of what had happened two years ago*. (G0E 758)
- b. Robert did not like to **remind** *her about the nature of her costume*. (HR8 956)

The sense of *remind* in 63a is 'to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past' – or, in this case, both the person and what happened to him – and the

semantic roles involved are causer + patient + theme. In 63b, the sense is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ and the roles are agent + patient + theme.

All in all, it seems that the NP *about* NP complement can be used in more ways than the other prepositional complement, NP *of* NP, since the latter does not seem to have a future time reference, nor can it be combined with *remind* in the sense of ‘to make someone remember something that they must do’.

NP

Among the 43 tokens with an NP complement in the BNC sample, there are two patterns that come up repeatedly, the expressions ‘That reminds me’ and ‘As somebody reminds somebody’ that were already seen in the CLMET3 data. The former, illustrated by 64a, is used to change the topic of a discussion. The latter, illustrated by 64b, is often present as an insertion within a sentence and can be interpreted as a side remark.

64. a. You regained consciousness about half an hour after I started talking to you. Oh ... that **reminds me** ... when you came round, you mumbled something about having heard me calling you. (HJD 2306)
- b. Islam, as the headmaster was always **reminding him**, meant *surrender*. (HR8 601)

The sense of *remind* in 64a is ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’ and the semantic roles are causer + patient + (theme). In 64b, the sense is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind, and the roles are agent + patient + (theme).

In addition to these two types of NP complement, there are, for example, other types in which the clause with *remind* is an insertion (65a), as well as tokens in which an understood complement for *remind* can be detected, but it is a long distance from the main verb and is a complement of another word too (65b):

65. a. And a world, she **reminded** *herself sharply*, that at this moment had turned against him. (CKD 1213)
- b. He proceeded to **remind** *her* verbally as she followed him sheepishly out through the dining-room to a wide archway that led to the terrace, though she didn't need this painful reminder of the way they'd given in to their wild passion every evening in Seville. (JY4 2047)

Interestingly, in tokens such as 65a, the NP is always a reflexive pronoun, and they all represent some kind of internal monologue. The inserted clause with *remind*, then, can be taken to be a kind of reporting clause, and the surrounding clause can be said to represent ‘speech’, though not the kind that is spoken aloud. Therefore, it is very close to the direct speech complement category. Furthermore, as was mentioned in the discussion of NP complements in CLMET 3, cases like 65a as well as 64b above could alternatively be treated as variations of *that*-clause complements, since 64b, for example, could be rewritten as ‘The headmaster was always reminding him that islam meant *surrender*’.

As for example 65b, the *of*NP complement of the noun *reminder* towards the end of the example could be taken to be also the ellipsed complement of the verb *remind*. Still, even if it is, the complement of *remind* has been removed and is not present in the actual verbal phrase, leaving us with only the NP ‘her’ as a certain complement.

The sense of *remind* in both 65a and 65b is ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ and the semantic roles are agent + patient + (theme). 65a, though, is an unusual example of this sense of *remind* in that nothing is spoken out loud and there is no ‘another person’, only the speaker herself, who is being reminded.

NP + direct speech

There is little variation among the 46 tokens with a direct speech complement. Typically, a token of this type consists of a quotation representing the speech, followed by a reporting clause containing

the verb *remind*, possibly an adverb, and sometimes another quotation at the end. The NP object of *remind* in these tokens is almost always a personal pronoun.

66. *'I knew all I needed to know,' Jenna **reminded** him fiercely. 'I was left behind without a qualm.'* (HGD 2268)

There is, however, one token that stands apart from the others:

67. *'That's what you're paid for,' **reminded** the overseer.* (AEB 67)

In example 67, there is no object NP. This actually reflects the OED example of this complement type (see 4.1.), in which the only complement was the quotation representing the direct speech.

The sense of *remind* in all of these tokens is 'to say in order to recall to another person's mind' and the semantic roles are agent + patient + theme.

5.5.3. Summary of BNC Imaginative Prose

In the NP + *that*-clause complement category, no complexity factors were present when the complementizer was omitted, which agrees with the expectations. Only one insertion was found among the tokens that retained the complementizer.

Of the ten tokens with an NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause complement in this data set, the preposition is now present in seven of them, and all of them are finite. This is in accordance with the hypothesis of the Great Complement Shift that finite *wh*-clauses favour the retention of the preposition, even though the CLMET 3 data showed evidence to the contrary.

Tokens with an NP + *to*-infinitive complement include one with an insertion and one with a counterexample to the *horror aequi* principle. All of them are future-oriented and hypothetical, and so agree with the theory for that part. The only NP + *of* + *-ing* complement in this data set and indicates past orientation and is therefore in accordance with the theory as well.

Among tokens with an NP *of*NP complement, the same subcategories can be observed as before. As for the NP *about* NP complements, there are now more than one of them, and interestingly it seems that they can have a time reference either to the past or to the future, that is, the latter NP can refer to an event that has not yet taken place just as well as an event or a person from the past.

Many of the tokens with an NP complement fall into the two subcategories mentioned earlier, namely ‘That reminds me,...’ and ‘as somebody reminds somebody,...’. The meanings of other, understood complements in these tokens can generally be interpreted detected fairly easily from the context.

NP + direct speech complements are rather frequent in this data set, but they are still all very uniform in structure, consisting of a quote, a report clause with *remind*, and often an adverb.

Table 14 below shows the connections between the senses of *remind* and the complements in this data set.

Sense (semantic roles)	Complement(s)
To say in order to recall to another person’s mind (agent + patient + theme)	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP <i>of</i> NP NP <i>about</i> NP NP direct speech
To cause a person to remember or think (again) of something (causer + patient + theme)	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP
To make someone remember something that they must do (causer + patient + theme)	NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP <i>about</i> NP
To make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past (causer + patient + theme)	NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP <i>of</i> NP NP <i>about</i> NP
To seem similar to someone or something else (stimulus + experiencer + theme)	NP <i>of</i> NP

Table 14. Sense-complement connections in BNC Imaginative Prose.

5.6. Discussion of findings

Let us now go back to the research questions for my thesis, which are the following:

- i. What complements does *remind* take, and in what proportions?
- ii. Have there been any changes during the time period under investigation?
- iii. Are these complements linked to the different senses of the verb, and how?
- iv. Do the complements have meanings in themselves, independent of the meaning of the verb?
- v. How are the implications of the theoretical hypotheses and principles reflected in the findings?

I will now discuss the answer to each question based on the analysis that has been conducted, and partly based on the theoretical discussion as well.

Firstly, while the dictionaries and grammars together suggested nine different complement types for *remind*, only eight were actually present in the corpus data:

- 1) NP + *that*-clause
- 2) NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause
- 3) NP + *to*-infinitive
- 4) NP + *of* + *-ing* clause
- 5) NP *of* NP
- 6) NP *about* NP
- 7) NP
- 8) (NP) + direct speech

Of these eight, the NP + *of* + *-ing* clause complement was not mentioned by any of the dictionaries and grammars studied (and it occurs very rarely in the data too). On the other hand, two complementation patterns that were suggested by the literature were not present in the data: NP + (*about*) + *wh*-clause, and zero complement. It should be noted, though, that the corpus data used in this study was restricted to written, literary British English, whereas the dictionaries and grammar books do not follow this restriction; this mismatch is a possible explanation for the differences that can be seen here.

The most common complement type for *remind* throughout the analysed period is the non-sentential NP *of* NP, and the second most common is the sentential NP + *that*-clause in the first three corpora (CLMETEV 1, CLMET 2, and CLMET 3), i.e. from the year 1710 until the year 1920, and direct speech in the BNC Imaginative Prose sample. In general, non-sentential complements are far more common than sentential ones, with a ratio of approximately 2:1 in the CLMET(EV) corpora, and 4:1 in the BNC. Figure 1 below illustrates the proportions of each complement type in percentages of the total number of tokens in each data set.

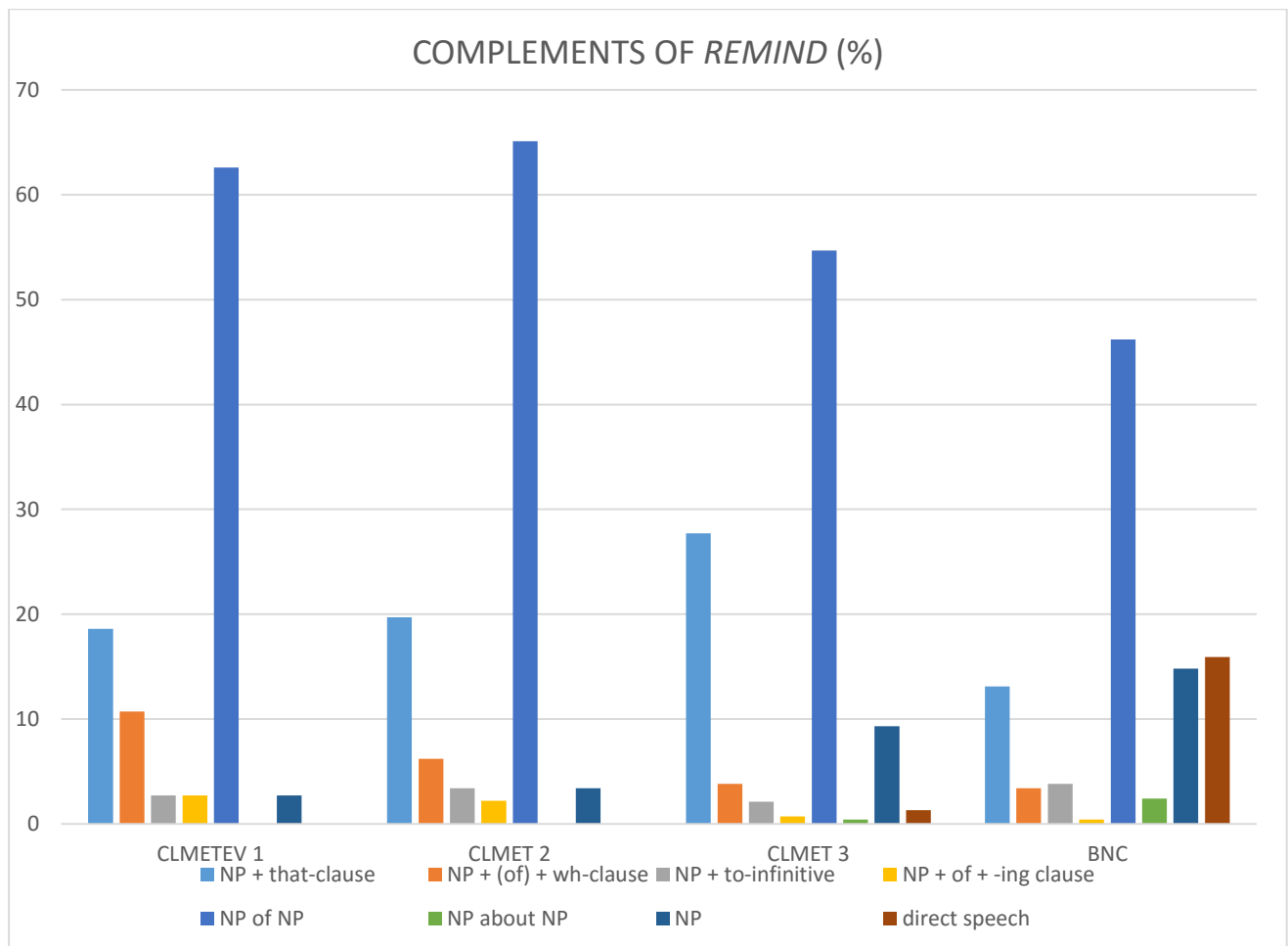


Figure 1. The proportions of different complements of *remind* in each corpus.

Since this is a diachronic study, the second research question is about the changes and developments in the complementation of *remind* that have taken place over the period from 1710 until 1993. As for the number of complement types, it grew from six in CLMETEV 1 and CLMET

2 to eight in CLMET 3 and the BNC. None of the complement types disappeared. The changes, then, took place in the frequencies of the complements. Figure 2 below illustrates the development of the frequency of each complement type in normalized frequency per million words.

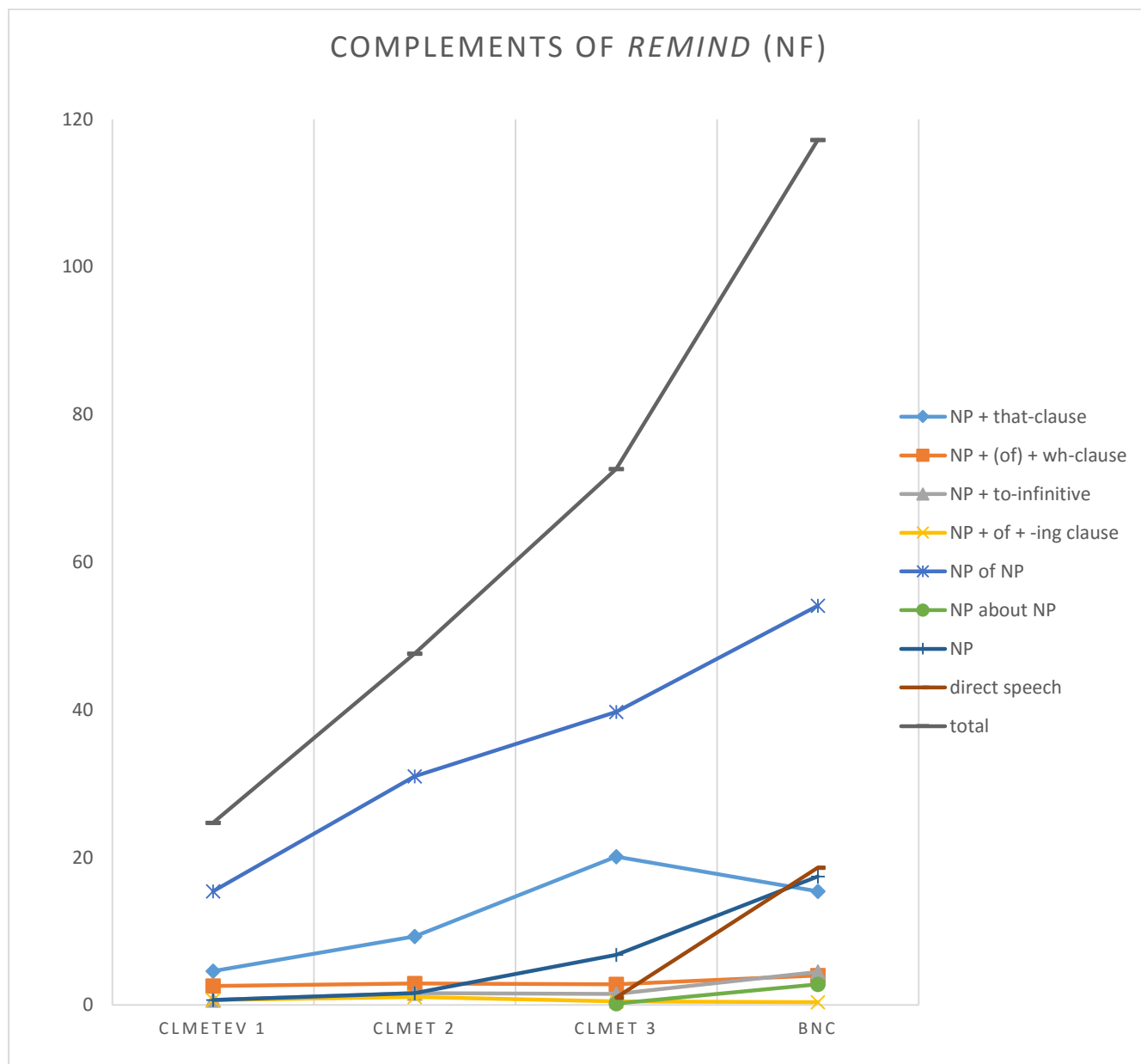


Figure 2. The normalized frequencies of each complement of *remind*.

As the figure clearly shows, the NP *of* NP complement is the most common one throughout the period and also increases rather steeply, being more than three times as common in the BNC Imaginative Prose than it is in CLMETEV 1. However, an even more rapid increase is seen for the direct speech complement, which only emerges in CLMET 3 with NF 1,0 and rises to NF 18,6 in

the BNC. Similarly, the NP complement gets increasingly frequent. The NP + *that*-clause complement increases in frequency at first until CLMET 3, and then decreases slightly. The NP + *to*-infinitive complement also increases somewhat towards the end of the period, the NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause has a rather stable frequency, and the NP *about* NP complement increases from NF 0,2 to NF 2,8 but remains quite rare. The only complement type that quite steadily decreases in frequency is the NP + *of* + *-ing* clause complement, which is also the least common one overall. The overall frequency of *remind* increases steadily throughout the period.

The third research question is concerned with the different meanings of the verb *remind*, and whether there is any link between a certain sense and a certain complement type. Overall, it seems that the connections are not straightforward; the only one-on-one connection is between the direct speech complement and the sense ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’, but even this connection does not go the other way – this sense of *remind* can also be associated with other types of complements. Also, the sense ‘to seem similar to someone or something else’ is only found with a small subcategory of NP *of*NP complements, but the majority of tokens with this complement type is associated with some other sense of the verb. All the other complement types can be associated with various senses of *remind*.

Things are further complicated by the fact that the senses are related, so that one single token of *remind* can be said to have two overlapping senses. For instance, the sense ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ often specifies some of the other senses, since it states the means by which the reminding is done, whereas the other senses specify the semantic content of what a person is being reminded of – for example, the sense ‘to make someone remember something that they must do’ indicates obligation and futurity. The only sense that does not overlap with any of the others is ‘to seem similar to someone or something else’. Indeed, it could be said that there are two separate verbs under the form *remind*, which was already hinted at in the introduction: the verb with the sense ‘to seem similar to someone or something else’ is a stative one, whereas the other four

senses can be grouped together as a dynamic verb. This conclusion is supported by the verbs used in the definitions of the different senses of *remind*, as *say*, *make*, and *cause* are dynamic verbs whereas *seem* is not.

Table 15 below presents the complements that occur with each sense of *remind* in all the data sets combined.

Sense	Complement(s)
To say in order to recall to another person's mind	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause NP <i>of</i> NP NP <i>about</i> NP NP direct speech
To cause a person to remember or think (again) of something	NP + <i>that</i> -clause NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause NP <i>about</i> NP NP
To make someone remember something that they must do	NP + <i>to</i> -infinitive NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause NP <i>about</i> NP NP
To make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past	NP + (<i>of</i>) + <i>wh</i> -clause NP + <i>of</i> + <i>-ing</i> clause NP <i>of</i> NP NP <i>about</i> NP
To seem similar to someone or something else	NP <i>of</i> NP

Table 15. Senses and complement patterns.

As the table shows, the sense ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’ can be associated with all of the eight complement types. The other senses are more restricted and only take up to five complement types. The last sense, as was already mentioned, only takes a subset of NP *of* NP complements. There were little changes in this area of the study except for the NP + *of* + *-ing* clause complements, which in the first two corpora took the senses ‘to say in order to recall to another person’s mind’, ‘to cause a person to remember or think (again) of something’, and ‘to make

someone remember something that they must do’, and in the latter two corpora only the sense of ‘to make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past’.

Among the five senses, three different patterns of semantic roles are found. These connections are presented in Table 16 below.

Sense	To say in order to recall to another person’s mind	To cause a person to remember or think (again) of something	To make someone remember something that they must do	To make someone remember someone that they know or something that happened in the past	To seem similar to someone or something else
Semantic roles	agent + patient + theme	causer + patient + theme	causer + patient + theme	causer + patient + theme	stimulus + experiencer + theme

Table 16. Senses and semantic roles.

As mentioned in chapter 3.2, the semantic role of agent is a subtype of the role of causer. This is related to the fact that the first four senses can – and do – overlap with each other, and the last one cannot be joined to any of them as its first two semantic roles, stimulus and experiencer, are not related to the roles of causer/agent and patient. The third role in all senses, though, is the same: theme denotes the ‘thing reminded of’.

Question number four – whether the complements have meanings in themselves – was partly answered in the theoretical part of the thesis, in chapter 3.3, where it was pointed out that typically, *to*-infinitive complements have the semantic notions of purpose, intentionality, futurity, hypotheticality, and potentiality, among others. They are also often associated with the notion of manipulation. *–Ing* complements, on the other hand, were said to reflect temporal overlap with the main clause, and often have a time reference to the past. *That*-clause complements, as the most sentential ones, have some qualities of independent clauses, and therefore their semantic content might not be particularly restricted.

However, when investigating the corpus data, it was found that the abovementioned distinctions do not always hold. In CLMETEV 1 and CLMET 2, some *-ing* complements were found to have future orientation instead of a past time reference; in CLMET 3 and the BNC, the *-ing* complements did conform to the theory and reflected either actual past events or figurative ones. The *to*-infinitives did generally reflect futurity, manipulation, and hypotheticality, but sometimes also repetitive action. *That*-clause complements were found to often have factual content, or at least they were presented as facts, and their time orientation varied, and a very similar observation was made for the *wh*-clause complements.

As for the syntactic factors influencing complementation, some violations of the Complexity Principle were found, as were counterexamples to the Great Complement Shift. Firstly, insertions and extractions were found with *-ing* complements in CLMETEV 1 and CLMET 2, even though such complexity factors should favour *to*-infinitives instead. Secondly, the Great Complement Shift includes the supposed increase of *-ing* complements at the expense of *to*-infinitives, but there were no indications of this in the data studied: *-ing* complements decreased over the period and were always very rare. *To*-infinitives were somewhat more common and increased towards the end of the period: in the BNC, *to*-infinitival complements (NF 4,5) are about eleven times as common as *-ing* complements (NF 0,4). However, it was mentioned that the Great Complement shift can be slowed down by complexity factors such as insertions which prefer *to*-infinitives, but only a few of them were found in the data, with the notable exception of the CLMETEV 1 data, in which both of the two *to*-infinitive complements contained insertions; none were found in CLMET 2 and only one in both CLMET 3 and BNC. It seems that *remind* does not follow the general trend here.

The Great Complement Shift also concerns *wh*-clause complements, as was discussed in chapter 3.5. Rohdenburg (2006: 151) states that “the establishment of (explicit) prepositional links should generally be further advanced with finite interrogatives than with infinitival ones”. This would lead us to expect the preposition to be present increasingly often with finite *wh*-clauses

towards the end of the period, but this does not seem to be the case. While the majority of finite NP + (*of*) + *wh*-clause complements in CLMETEV 1 and CLMET 2 did have the prepositional link, hardly any did so in CLMET 3, which was unexpected. In the BNC, though, the preposition was again present in seven out of ten cases. As for the infinitival *wh*-clause complements, there was only one instance in the data and it was in CLMETEV 1, so it appears as though they have disappeared completely from use with *remind* in literary texts. However, that one token was without the preposition, which does agree with the hypothesis.

The Complexity Principle predicted that with NP + *that*-clause complements, the complementizer *that* should be more likely to be retained in the presence of complexity factors than in more simple contexts. Furthermore, the nature of *remind* as an object-selecting verb can also be seen as a factor that favours the presence of the complementizer, so the hypothesis goes that overall, its omission should be a rare phenomenon. The data confirms this, as there were indeed few omissions, and only one case in which the omission occurred, unexpectedly, in the presence of a complexity factor.

Two instances where the *horror aequi* principle was not adhered to were found in the data, as there were instances of a succession of two *to*-infinitive constructions in both CLMET 3 and the BNC. This might be explained by the nature of *remind* as an object-selecting verb, which means that the object is an interfering factor and therefore the two similar constructions are perhaps not seen as adjacent and need not be avoided.

The non-sentential complements are not affected by the theoretical principles that concern syntactic issues. The most important findings concerning them, then, are related to semantics. As was already mentioned, there seems to be at least one clear difference between the two prepositional complements, NP *of* NP and NP *about* NP, in that while the second NP in the former type almost always refers to an event that took place in the past or has no specific time reference, the latter can also refer to future events. As for the NP complements, it was in most cases easy to point out that

the rest of some other complement type had been omitted from them. Direct speech complements were found to be a very uniform group, and *remind* was only present inside the reporting clauses in them, whereas the main focus of those sentences was in the direct speech part.

6. Conclusions

In this thesis, I set out to investigate the complementation of the verb *remind* in corpora of written British English from 1710 to 1993. The results show that *remind* takes several types of complements, six in the first half of the time period under investigation and eight in the latter half. The most frequent complement in all the sub-periods was NP *of* NP, which occurred in roughly half of all the tokens. All the other complement types were relatively infrequent in comparison, apart from the NP + *that*-clause complement which reached its peak in the third sub-period (CLMET 3) with a proportion of almost 28 percent and was the second most common complement type in all but the last sub-period (1960-1993).

One of the reasons for focusing on this particular verb was that it has been called a ‘surface verb’, indicating that it might have more than one semantic meaning. This was indeed found to be the case, as the so-called ‘resemblance’ sense of *remind* (‘to seem similar to someone or something else’) is semantically very different from the other four, interrelated senses; the former can be considered to be a stative verb, whereas the latter four senses together form a dynamic verb.

The investigation of the data revealed that especially in the first half (1710-1850), the *-ing* complements of *remind* occasionally violated the theoretical principles introduced in chapter 2 of this thesis by being future-oriented and occurring in the presence of complexity factors. The hypothesis of the Great Complement Shift does not seem to affect *remind* to any notable extent, since *-ing* complements were not found to increase at the expense of *to*-infinitives, and the establishment of prepositional links with *wh*-clause complements was not consistent with the theory either. As regards *that*-clause complements, the omission or retention of the complementizer *that* was largely in accordance with the Complexity Principle.

While this study dealt with many aspects of the behaviour of the verb *remind* and its complements, it was limited to literary texts and therefore its results cannot be generalized as such to other genres, not to mention spoken language. It also focused on British English alone, and to

conduct a similar diachronic study of other varieties of English would certainly be of interest as well.

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